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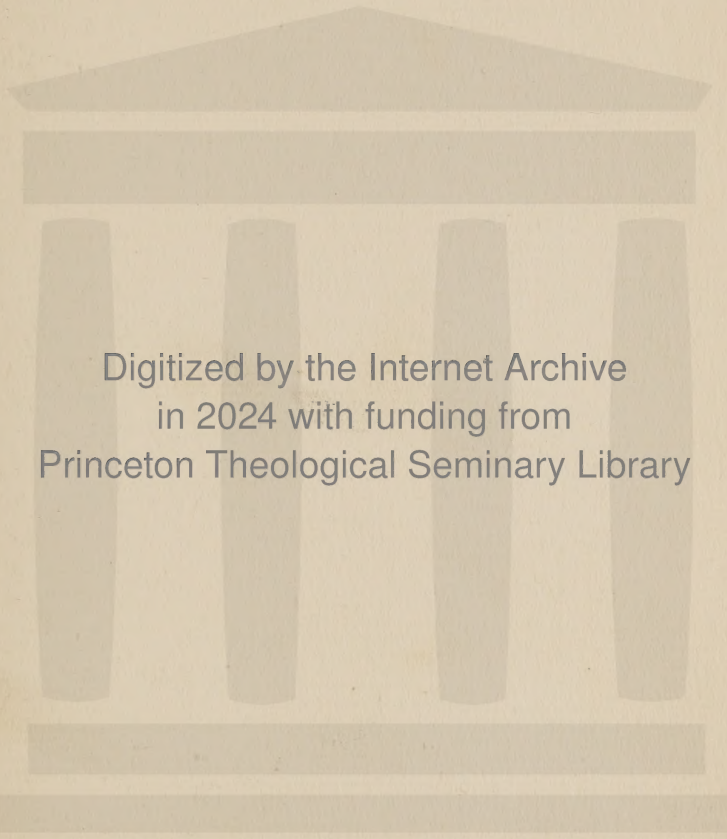
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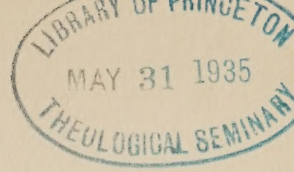
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MATERIALS FOR
A LIFE OF JACOPO DA VARAGINE

I. A MAKER OF THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE

MATERIALS FOR A LIFE OF JACOPO DA VARAGINE

- I. A Maker of the Italian Language**
- II. Latin Writings**
- III. Public Activities**
- IV. Index to Parts I, II and III.**



Materials for a
Life of Jacobus de
Life of Jacopo da Varagine

by ✓
ERNEST CUSHING RICHARDSON

I. A MAKER OF THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE



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ERNEST CUSHING RICHARDSON

To the Memory of My Co-worker

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PREFACE

Jacopo da Varagine, otherwise Jacobus de Varagine or Voragine or del Bosco (1228-1298) is one of the most fascinating figures of the fascinating 13th century in Italy. He has been called the most read writer of the Middle Ages. His Golden Legend was called Golden because of its popularity. It has been called the most copied work of its time, "scriptures not excluded." This must be doubted, but manuscripts are many and something like 150 editions were published during the first fifty years of printing. His published sermons were also often called "golden" in the manuscripts, for the same reason. They were not only read but preached all over Europe. Add to this fact that he was author of the first translation of the Bible into Italian, the distinguished head for many years of the Preacher Friars of Northern Italy, and afterward Archbishop of Genoa.

As administrator of the Dominican order for Northern Italy, while it acted as "right arm" of various popes, he achieved unique distinction in his turbulent times as peacemaker. He was one of the few men, perhaps the only man in all history, upon whom the title of Blessed was conferred by the Church expressly on account of his peacemaking. For this he is venerated today in Liguria and in Dominican convents throughout the world. He deserves to be the patron of the League of Nations.

Notwithstanding all this, there is no biography of Varagine in English. There are a few brief encyclopædia articles, and a very few essays and studies in English, mentioned in the rather full bibliographies given in Vacant (v.8, pp. 309-13), in the little life by Waresquiel, and in the recent edition of the 13th century Italian translation of the Golden Legend published in the series edited by Papini, 1924-6, 3 vols, (v. 1, pp. li-lvi).

Even the encyclopædia sketches, however, illustrate the cynical description of fame as "having one's name misspelled in the obituaries," for they are mostly headed "de Voragine" or "di Viraggio"—the former being the bad pun of a writer who described Varagine as a very "whirlpool" (*vorago*) of learning, and the latter a place that never was on land or sea—at least never for Jacopo da Varagine.

As a matter of fact, Jacopo's name was, in the Italian of his time, da Varagine, in the Latin of his time, de Varagine, and in modern Italian, da Varazze—Varazze being now a little resort on the western Italian Riviera near Genoa and nearer Savona. Before Jacopo's time it had been a powerful county and marquisate. He was himself son of one of the most picturesque of the petty marquises who had divided the old marquisate up among themselves by equal inheritance, marriage, and foreclosed mortgages. His father was, like most of his relatives, in effect bankrupt and practically a soldier of fortune, clinging to such of his feudal rights in half a dozen or more fortified towns of the mountain region as he could not sell. The older brother of Jacopo, Lanzarotto, held

court until he disposed of his last remaining feudal rights to Genoa, Jacopo and another brother joining in the deed.

It was this fact, that no biography of this interesting and important figure existed in English, that led the present writer to take up a somewhat casual study of the man some forty years ago, as a recreative byproduct of more exacting studies in text-critical research. He has pursued the study meantime casually, but continuously, his wife helping, and it has proved to be all that it promised, and more, as personal recreation. The study has made more and more clear the significance of da Varagine as a factor in the history of the century, and has emphasized the importance of having some account of him in English. He obviously deserved an adequate critical biography, and it was hoped to produce such a work. A good deal of material looking to such a biography was, in fact, gathered, but other more exacting professional and research work claimed preference over this and has made it doubtful whether the task can ever be finished properly. It has seemed best therefore to gather up what material has been collected and put into such shape that it can be used by other students of the man or his century, without waiting for a finished product—printing as manuscript without much editing.

The material includes, to begin with, a number of essays and studies, some of which have been already published and others put into type. It is proposed to publish these at once without farther delay or revision. The material includes also various lists of editions, manu-

scripts and literature, with sundry textual studies, transcripts of documents, material for critical notes, etc., in various stages of preparation. These will be printed from time to time if circumstances permit. Material which does not reach the point of preparation, even for printing as manuscript, together with some manuscripts and printed sources, will be given to the Library of Congress and will therefore be available for scholars. This material should serve in a way as a body of foot-notes to these printed studies, in case such notes are not otherwise forthcoming.

If time and tide permit, the printed collections of material now ready will be shortly followed by at least a brief life with a still briefer selection of critical and bibliographical notes, covering matters most in dispute or matters hitherto not known which call for citation of sources.

This first group of studies was put in type some time ago on the occasion of the acquisition by the Pierpont Morgan Library of a copy of the first printed edition of the Italian Bible—a book so rare that the present writer had failed to find a copy in any of many Italian libraries searched.

These papers have to do with the influence of Varagine on the Italian language, through his Italian writings, his popular preaching in the vernacular, and his training of popular preachers. A paper on the Golden Legend itself is also printed in this group because the Legend, although originally published in Latin, was translated into Italian during the 13th century and became a typi-

cal factor in the work of uniting the Italian dialects into a common speech. More important, it was everywhere freely used in street preaching services, as French and German translations were also used in the popular preaching of their respective countries. It was also freely used by the minstrels, who plied their trade in the castles and taverns along the highways, for their repertories.

Whether or not Jacopo was the translator as well as the author of the Golden Legend is a still unexplored research thesis, and it is a detail. He was author of the work, and it was the unprecedented popularity of this work which made the Trecento translation of it a powerful factor in shaping the common speech.

The historians of the Italian language, who justly emphasize the fixing of the common speech by Dante, fail, as a rule, to bring out the fact that the language used by Dante was in the main already the common speech of Italy and already fixed to a certain degree. It was understandable by the common people, notwithstanding the acute dialect differences, and this standardizing of the language in all parts of Italy was not effected so much by the fact of the common usage of the courts and universities as by preaching and minstrelsy. This is a language procedure common to all modern languages and has been recently exemplified, it is said, in the transition of the Chinese from the classical to the present common speech. Those Italians who magnify the influence of Varagine on their language by bracketing him with Dante may not be so far wrong.

This first group of miscellaneous contributions will be shortly followed by groups on his Latin writings and on his public activities, and these by an index to the three groups. The brief life, stringing together and supplementing these miscellaneous studies, will follow shortly, if it proves practicable.

ERNEST CUSHING RICHARDSON

Washington, D. C.

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CHAPTER I

The First Italian Bible

THE first vernacular Bible in any language is epoch making. Those who say that the Golden Legend was the most read book of the late Middle Ages, of course except the Bible. Jerome's Vulgate was the most read book in Italy. From 1270 on, the book most read by and to the Italian people was the Italian translation in its various versions. Nearly all these versions were by Dominicans and the first complete translation was made by Varagine, "Frate Jacopo", of the Preacher Order, apparently while he was conventual prior and in the years preceding.

Prior Jacopo had been brought up as a boy in a region where the circulation of parts of the Bible in the Provençal translation had been a chief method of propaganda by the heretics whose influence it was now his business to counteract. Before he left Varazze some parts translated somewhere in his neighborhood were already being circulated in Italian. It was natural, therefore, that when the new campaign for extirpation of heresy began it should have occurred to him that fighting preaching by preaching naturally led to fighting Bible translation by Bible translation—for translators have a wonderful

opportunity to read their own ideas, whether heretical or orthodox, into a translation and some of these old translations went so far in this that they were rather paraphrases than translations.

All popular preaching of course involved more or less Bible translation. There was a text to begin with and this text as a rule taken from a passage read. Then the universal habit of scriptural quotation came pretty near being continuous translation when there came to be as many as twelve quotations in one hundred and forty-four words, as was the case with one sermon of Varagine. This was no doubt at first extemporaneous translation from the Latin, just as the sermons themselves were translations from Latin memoranda. It would not be long, however, before the carefully trained friars, dealing as they did with niceties, would be taking every care not to be caught napping on a wrong translation in doubtful matters of doctrine. The heretics were on the watch ready to pounce on every slip. It would not be long either, before they would be gathering together the current fragmentary translations and amending them in the direction of orthodoxy and translating other essential passages. In any event this process was in brisk operation in the middle of the century and the ever alert mind of Varagine certainly busy upon it.

Here at Genoa he was close by his boyhood home and his own preaching, with that of the friars under his direction, must have led him constantly into the region beyond which was the hot-bed of the Biblical propaganda of heresy. If he was ever prior of Asti, he was right in the midst of it.

Just when his teeming mind took up the idea of gathering together the fragments, revising and completing a version of "both Testaments" is unknown but it may be guessed that it was as soon as the Golden Legend was off his hands. Possibly it was only after he had made an Italian translation of the Legend itself, for there was an Italian version in his lifetime and he would not have been likely to leave this task to another. This might have carried the beginning along until around 1260. From that time until 1267, when he took up his executive work as Provincial Prior, there is a gap in other recorded activities but he was undoubtedly in this period at his busiest with his local activities against popular heresies and in direct contact with the people in the native tongue. The Bible version is said to have been finished in 1270, and the work was probably done between 1260-1267, when he was in the full flood of the popular work following the Flagellant revival. From that time on, he was increasingly occupied with the convents and universities, with scholars and diplomats where Latin was the common speech. One may be sure that he never ceased his Italian preaching or his activities with the Italian speaking people, but this period, from perhaps 1257, to 1267, was probably the full tide of his vernacular work, and the Bible translation the chief literary result.

No complete manuscripts of this version exist and none bear the name of Varagine as translator, but there is no reason to doubt that he made a version of both Testaments and that this is the version, made "in the middle of the century or shortly after" of which various fragments or revisions are in fact extant.

Nevertheless, the fact has been doubted, and doubted so thoroughly that Varagine's name does not appear in connection with the latest critical discussions of the first Italian Bible. The doubts were based mainly on incredibility. It is incredible, it was said, that there should have been a translation into Italian as early as Varagine's time, incredible and even absurd, that a Genoese should have done it, incredible that if he wrote this no manuscript of it should have been found bearing his name, incredible that he should not have mentioned it in the list of his works which he himself gives in his Chronicle. Farther than this, it appears that Malermi, who published a version in 1471, claims his translation to be the first complete one.

When these objections were gathered together by Spotorno in 1823, this critic was very little impressed by the fact that no manuscript had been found. He dismisses this matter lightly, but only, however, to conclude on other grounds, and far more positively even than other critics, that the claim of "our blessed archbishop" to have made such a translation is wholly destroyed. His reasons for this are the omission of the work from the list of his writings given in the Chronicle, Varagine's lack of time and above all the immaturity of the Italian language, in his age. "There was," he says, "no literature of such importance in the cultivated Italian by non-Tuscan writers of the golden century of the trecentisti. No such have yet been brought to light, nor ever will be." "Now how could a Genoese," he exclaims, "who died six years before the birth of Passavanti, have possibly put the Holy Bible into Italian,

when he had no means of learning the noble language either by natural environment or by the example of eminent writers." He brings things to a climax in a little rhetorical peroration. "Let us give up, therefore," he says, "the common error, for our sainted bishop has no need of uncertain or untrue praises."

Now of course the Blessed Jacopo is at present in fact quite beyond the need of human praise, whether true or untrue, but this is no reason why Varagine's friends should abet Niccolo Malermi, or any one else, in robbing him of a perfectly sound reputation for having made the first complete translation of the Bible into Italian. It gives therefore a sensation of poetic fitness when modern criticism shows up all these doubts for what they are—chimeras of conscientious and timorous pedantry.

The story of the robbery and recovery of Varagine's good name in this matter is worth telling. It is as neat an example of critical romance as one may chance upon.

For two centuries Varagine lawfully had the name of having been the first to make a complete translation of the Bible into Italian. Then Malmeri claimed it. Spottorno, professed friend of Varagine but relentless judge, obsessed by a conviction of pedantic duty, applied the stern canons of unsparing negative criticism, denied Varagine's right and left the reputation with the pretender. After baffled years of obscurity and dispraise, however, a long hidden document is brought to light and a *deus ex machina*, in the person of a modern critic, working quite unconscious of Varagine's claims, sets forth the necessary evidence of ownership, exact to the veriest de-

tail, short of actually naming the author, forces the receiver to disgorge the stolen reputation and restores it to the owner. It is a detective story in dry documents.

The story begins in 1471 with the assumption by Niccolo di Malermi that he was the first to translate the whole Bible into Italian. He implies that only partial, anonymous and faulty translations had existed before his day. Malermi should have known better. He in fact founded his own translation on such a complete version and could not otherwise have done the work, as he boasts he did, in eight months. He might have known, too, that Varagine was the author, for this was well understood in the Dominican Order whose friars had made meantime two or three other versions, which Malermi equally ignores. Malermi certainly knew Varagine, whose Legend he also translated.

All these versions, beginning with Varagine's were in fact pieced together out of earlier translations and if Malermi had no complete manuscript of the version it is just possible that he really believed that he was the first to put together a whole Bible.

However that may be, his assumption was taken seriously by various critics especially when the Reformation brought down the furies on Varagine on account of the Golden Legend. Possevinus and Le Long joined in rolling up the snowball of incredulities which Spotorno received in 1823, and passed on for a final roll by Mannucci as late as 1904.

Side by side with this, however, the Dominican tradition of Varagine's authorship went on, until at last the rise of modern critical methods, textual, bibliograph-

ical and historical began to melt the snowball of doubt. The first warm breath was the discovery that the version which Malermi made "word for word" in the record time of eight months was in fact founded on a complete earlier version.

Malermi's translation was published on August 1st, 1471, by Vindilino di Spira. The translation was popular and was printed in a score of editions. On October first of the same year, 1471, just two months after the publication of Malermi's translation, another complete Italian version was published by the printer, Jenson. This was anonymous.

Modern critical study has shown that both these editions of 1471, are founded on a complete earlier version, a version, however, itself made up by uniting the work of several partial translators. Malermi's contribution consisted in altering this more or less systematically from the finer Italian of the Golden Period to the Venetian Italian of his own time. The Jenson edition appears to have been based to begin with, on the old Italian Vulgate unchanged. This seems to have been used by the compositors until the edition of Malermi was printed, when they used either this edition or the manuscript indifferently—slices of Malermi's revision being sandwiched among slices of the old Italian.

The next step was a study of these many "incomplete, anonymous, and faulty" manuscripts of sundry versions among which Malermi had failed to recognize any complete translation. This study carried the evidence for a complete version back to the early part of the 14th century, but it was still said that while large portions were

translated in the 13th century its completion was "probably the work of the Dominicans of the 14th century." This version of the early 14th century was ascribed by some to Jacopo de Passavanti, but more often to Domenico Cavalca, whose translation of the Acts is in fact included. It was agreed, however, that parts are earlier, and even the translation underlying Calvaca's Acts is older, his contribution being, apparently, extensive explanatory glosses run into the older text. Cavalca died in 1342. As he used older versions throughout, this of itself carries the story back nearly to Varagine's time.

At this point a charming bit of historical evidence is flashed upon the rapidly melting mass of doubt that there could have been a complete version in the thirteenth century. This was the discovery of a will which in 1302, bequeathed a copy of just such a translation.

In the year 1302, only four years after Varagine's death, a certain noble lady of Padua, Judith of Forzate by name, widow of Giovanni di Dulo, a knight of the Order of the Glorious Virgin Mary, popularly known as the Frate Gaudenti, made her will and among her bequests is her copy of the Bible in the vernacular (in *vulgari*), likewise a copy of the gospels also in the Italian. This act seems to settle the question of a vernacular Bible in the 13th century. It has double interest in the circumstance that the noble and pious lady who made the will and her husband were at least acquaintances and probably friends of the translator. The Knights of Mary or Knights of Jesus Christ to whom Judith and Giovanni di Dulo belonged, had existed under various names. First under St. Dominic as

crusaders against heresy, then reorganized in 1233, as Knights of Peace they formed a third Order of the Dominicans, and being in the Lombard province, were under the spiritual direction, if not the actual administrative care, of Varagine as Provincial of this province. In this or other official capacities he was their guide off and on for twenty-two or twenty-three years preceding 1290, and therefore most likely at the time when the Lady Judith acquired and used this volume for her spiritual edification. It is unlikely that she and her husband should not have personally known Varagine well, and it is likely that they received from him personally spiritual direction, for the number of the Order was not very great, they were nearly all in Varagine's province at this time, and they were in fact expressly under his direction. As all members of this order were noblemen and noblewomen, of wealth and importance, it is not likely that he could have missed knowing them on his repeated visits to their city.

Incidentally, too, the will throws other light on how a pious family of Varagine's circle lived, what books it had and what its activities and interests were.

To begin with, Lady Judith left also a legendary in the vernacular. There is manuscript evidence for such a translation of the Legend before 1340, and this clearly points to one during Varagine's lifetime. Again she left also the Latin dialogues of Saint Gregory, this to Sister Jacobina, her niece, on condition that she should not sell or alienate and that it should belong to her convent after her death. Among the many other bequests of this wealthy testatrix were a tunic, an epi-

togium and a mantle to be chosen from her wardrobe, and also fifty pounds for a journey to the Holy Land on condition that it should be made within ten years after the death of the testatrix. To Lady Batta of Trent, who lived with her, a long pelisse, and to her servant, Clarice, if still in her employ, an epitogium lined with wolf's skin, one of her camlet tunics, a white pelisse, a red one, and a trimmed one. Besides these she left various sums of money; twenty-five pounds to the Frate Gaudenti of Padua, five large soldi to one Dominican friar, a hundred small soldi a year to another, provision for distribution of bread and beans for orphans and widows, and fifty pounds for her own burial by the side of her husband in the church of the Preacher Friars of Padua—a well-read, well-dressed and charitable lady.

This seems to be conclusive for a translation of the Bible in Varagine's lifetime—one swallow does not make a summer but one swallow is conclusive disproof of the statement that there are no swallows.

At this point Berger enters the case, not on Varagine's behalf as private detective, but, so to speak, from Scotland Yard for the general public. He does not seem even to have heard that Varagine is concerned. He falls heir to the clues of his predecessors, takes up the story from 1300, backwards in a brilliant series of studies on the earlier Romance versions and brings it to a decisive climax. In 1894, he published a study of the Italian versions. A rapid survey of the manuscripts and comparison with the Provençal translations, on which he had already written, showed conclusively that the Italian version was founded on Latin texts of the early

thirteenth century in Provençal regions or on Provençal versions made from such texts, and he came to the general conclusion that, "The whole Bible was translated in the north of Italy about the middle of the thirteenth century or a little later", by a writer or group of writers, embodying some older versions perhaps of parts in the case of the Old Testament, the New Testament being wholly by one hand, and that the hand of a man who understood the Provençal language well and who was thoroughly acquainted with the Provençal New Testament—"A man whose spiritual country was Provence and who was probably not a stranger to the French language. It was written by such a man in the north of Italy."

He finds in short, that so far from such a version being incredible at this time, it was actual and so far as being incredible that a Genoese should have made it, a Genoese is the most likely author. This is conclusive against the idea that Varagine could not have made it but of course does not directly prove that Varagine did so. Even for this, however, there is at least a touch of evidence corroboratory to Sixtus in the detail of the Berger clues.

The reason for believing that Varagine made a translation of both Testaments is the testimony of several competent historians who were in the best possible position to know from original sources.

Sixtus Senesis says that Varagine "first of all translated both the Testaments into the Italian language with utmost accuracy and care". He mentions the translation more than once and says that he had himself seen

copies of the work. He wrote in Varagine's own convent at Genoa before its records were destroyed. He was one of the best critical scholars of his time and was the chief expert in Biblical manuscripts. The Pope sent him on a bibliographical journey in search of literature relating to the Bible. He examined immense quantities of books giving especial attention to editions and translations of the Scriptures. The results are embodied in his *Bibliotheca Sancta*, written at Genoa. Scholarly competency, access to official records and expertness in versions are all at a maximum. His conclusions are stated in plain terms and are supported by other historians of the Order who also had access to the convent records before they were destroyed in 1798. These add details not given by Sixtus. Roveta, e. g. says that it was published in 1270. Altogether there is no good reason to doubt that he made such a translation not long before 1270, and that copies of it were seen by Sixtus in his expert researches for the Pope.

This is confirmed, as against all argument that there could not have been such a version at this time, by the fact that there was such a version. It is farther confirmed against the urgent conviction of Sportono and Mannucci that it is absurd to suppose that a Genoese in the Dugento could have done this, by the fact that somebody in the neighborhood of Genoa is more likely than any one else to have done it, and by the fact that the historians all agree that the Genoese Varagine did use the Italian with remarkable elegance. Sixtus says that he was "amazingly skillful in the use of his na-

tive language" (*propria lingua mire facundus*). Another historian puts it only less strikingly in saying he was "expert in the mother tongue." If the "*Arte di ben parlare*" is in fact translated by Varagine it too bears this out.

The fact is also confirmed by its plausibility. Here was Varagine about 1260 extraordinarily equipped in the Italian as spoken and written at Bologna and Siena, eagerly searching every avenue of approach to the popular mind, familiar with the efficiency of the heretical translation, practiced in translating for his outdoor preaching, his *Legend* finished and out of the way and looking around for other devices for popular instruction, deeply involved in the atmosphere of popular hymns and the dialect poetry of Genoa. Being what he was it would be inevitable that he should gather together the fragmentary translations, as he did the legends of the saints, and construct out of and upon these a rounded work, as he built his *Golden Legend* perhaps on the bare outlines of Fra Bartolomeo's *Legendary*, and his treatise *On the virtues and vices*, on the work of Peraldus.

Altogether the most captious critics can hardly now venture to doubt that Varagine made a complete translation of the Bible and probably in the decade of 1260-1270.

Whether this version was the same as that now analyzed out by Berger is another question, but one so narrowed as hardly to need direct proof. It is not likely that there could have been two versions in the same neighborhood at the same time, certainly not two Dom-

inican translations, when one considers the Dominican way of working and the fact that Varagine was the supervisor of the studies of the whole Order in the region involved at the time when the version was finished.

Even direct proof is not wholly wanting. Berger first deepens the evidence for near neighborhood and then affords a small specific link.

Genoa was of course the only city where at this time Provençal remained the language of the literary world and was the "spiritual country" of cultivated men. It was precisely at this period that Provençal literature passed definitely to the Genoese group, where it lingered until it faded away. Precisely at this time, in the sixties, Varagine's old acquaintances and family connections of Varazze days were at the high water mark of their poetic production. No other place fits all the descriptions so well. The translation was most likely made at Genoa or some Dominican convent not far to the west, like Asti, or at least by some one educated in this region. It is true, too, of course, that all the best Italian even that of Bologna up to this date was tinged with Provençal, but nowhere so deeply as at Genoa and nowhere else so deeply as Berger suggests.

One specific detail points to the fact that Varagine was indeed the man. Berger finds his evidence of place in the fact that the version was based on a text containing manuscript errors found only in Latin texts of the Vulgate from this region, or in Provençal versions made from these texts. He cites several of these peculiar readings, one of them a false etymology of the name Didymus. This is found also in Varagine's third sermon

on St. Thomas, "And therefore he is called Didymus on account of his doubting heart".

Certainly there are those who would not be convinced though the Lady Judith's own copy should be produced and found to bear a signed author's inscription by Frate Jacopo, but most scholars will not hesitate to say, with little critical reservation, that Varagine was author of a complete version and doubtless that version now revealed by Berger.

CHAPTER II

Other Italian Writings

BESIDES the Bible translations Varagine undoubtedly did a good deal of other writing in the Italian about this time and there is a strong probability that a number of these writings are extant, lost in anonymity. Certainly such works once existed and were familiar to the historians of the Order.

Only one work, however, beside the Bible translation seems to be definitely ascribed to him in the manuscript and this is only a translation. It is a rhetoric or "Art of good speaking"—called in the Italian "Arte di ben parlare", or "Modo a ben parlare" and in the manuscripts "Brevis doctrina de modo loquendi". This work exists in two manuscripts, one written in Varagine's own lifetime. It is a translation of the Rhetoric of Albertanus of Brescia and is the same which is used in the translation of Brunetto Latini's Trésor.

The work is an interesting little tract and is so full of matter used repeatedly by Varagine that it is worth study. The author pleads for the middle way and prudence. He says that when one speaks one should consider six things. First, who you are, second, what you wish to say; third, to whom you have to

speak; fourth, the occasion; fifth, how you wish and ought to speak, sixth at what time you are speaking.

First of all before you speak or frame a word, consider who you are, that is whether you are minding your own business. It is bad to meddle with what does not concern you. To mix in the quarrels of others is to pull the ears of a strange dog. You must not let yourself be angered or agitated but keep your poise, otherwise keep silence. Submit your will to reason. He who does not know how to keep silence does not know how to talk. Some one was asked whether he spoke so little because of his wisdom or because of his folly. He answered, "a fool does not know how to keep silence". Solomon says, "He who guards his mouth guards his soul". If you want to blame others, take care that you are not guilty of the same fault for which you blame them.

Take care to realize beforehand what you want to say. Think of the end from the beginning. It is better otherwise to keep silence, and certainly one who is taciturn will never be deceived by a loquacious person. Take care that what you say is true. There are seven ways of lying—speaking contrary to the articles of faith which is worst, speaking to injure, to get selfish advantage, for pure love of deceiving, to entertain, to help some one without harming any one, keeping silent to another's injury.

Beware of vain words. Take care that you speak sense. Take care that your words be not harsh but pleasant and in good form, for musical instruments are sweet but the suave tongue and pleasant words are

sweeter. Take care that your speech be beautiful and good, not obscure, misleading, or malicious. Be on your guard against saying anything to cause wrong or harm or annoyance to anyone. Take care that your words do not sow discord. Guard yourself from pride and arrogance. In considering to whom you speak, first think whether he is your friend or not, for if a friend you can speak more freely, and in the world there is no sweeter thing than to have a good friend with whom you can speak as with yourself. Take care not to talk with a fool, a cynic or a sower of discord. Take care not to tell your secret to a drunken man. The Master says that women can keep secret what they do not know. Remember the place where you are speaking. Some things are fit for church, others for court, some for feasts, others for fasts, some for indoors, others for out. You ought to speak one way in serving God, another in serving man, one way in your own affairs, another in the affairs of others.

Then consider how. Speech does not depend on words only but on bearing and delivery. Very ordinary words well delivered may be praised while excellent composition badly delivered is criticised. Therefore cultivate spirit and utterance and all movements of body and tongue. Adjust words and the movements of the lips so that they do not seem clipped or muffled or harsh but intelligible and sonorous, clear and well modulated so that every letter shall have its sound and every word its accent. And speak with an even voice. Do not begin low and end high, but study how to adjust pitch according to place and time and occasion, for

sound, words and bearing should correspond with subject matter. Take care not to turn your face too much to the sky, nor too much earthward; do not mouth or knit your brows violently or allow yourself any awkwardness. Again avoid haste: be swift to hear, slow to speak. Again avoid length. As Solomon says, "You will please all if you speak briefly," and he who speaks much often fails. Therefore make your words few though not so few that brevity becomes obscurity. Again speak kindly.

Finally as to time: Jesus Sirach says that the wise man bides his time—the fool speaks out of season.

It is an interesting fact that the earliest manuscript which contains this work contains also the well known *Fior di Virtu* written by the same hand. This work is ascribed to Tommaso Gozzadini and the interest lies in the fact that there has also been ascribed to Varagine a "*Somma delle Virtu e dei Vizii*", which is supposed to have been the same as a compendium of the *Summa* of Peraldus also included in the list of Varagine's writings.

The fact that Brunetto Latini includes both a summary of this work and a compendium of Peraldus in the seventh book of his *Treasury* makes permissible a shrewd guess that the Italian translation of the seventh book of Brunetto, which is omitted from several of the manuscripts of the translation ascribed to Bono Giamboni, is or contains several of Varagine's alleged Italian works.

Besides these works there are several lines of existing writings in which his authorship may sometime be

determined by critical methods; three in particular, sermons, hymns and the translation of the Golden Legend. It is possible that some of his will be found among the anonymous sermons of the Dugento. Some young scholar, aspiring to a doctorate, gathering and comparing these with Varagine's Latin sermons, and the Italian of the Bible, the Legend, the Arte., etc., may some time identify certain of these.

Again his close connection with the Laudesi confraternities of Genoa at the time when they were developing lyric and dramatic poetry and later his minstrel effort and his association with Bonvesin makes it likely that he tried his hand also at this style of composition, as he did at Latin hymns. It is barely possible, therefore, that something of his is included in the volume of Genoese verse, gathered a little while after his death.

The idea that he himself translated his *Legenda Aurea* into the vernacular is more plausible. There is an existing translation which has manuscript evidence back to about 1340, and some one will sometime find it a matter of interest to compare this version with the first Italian Bible, and the *Arte di ben parlare* to see if they point to a common authorship.

All these matters, however, wait on critical study. If critical methods are able to identify clearly a substantial part of the Bible version as the version of 1265, it will probably be easy to fix a sound basis for identifying the others.

However that may be and whether any of his writings can be identified, there is no reason to doubt that he wrote much in Italian, including a Bible trans-

lation, and that his Italian was up to the best standards of the common language of the time—remarkably good Italian.

Some enthusiastic admirers of Varagine not only hail him as a forefather of the Italian language but bracket him with Dante on the ground, of course, that a first Bible translation plays a unique place in spreading and standardizing a language. The Italian translation, however, hardly holds the place that the German or English does in the history of the respective languages—it was probably not read in the same way. Nevertheless it does hold a large place, and, if besides preaching all over Italy in Italian, both Bible and *Legendary* were his, Varagine holds a place second to none during his century in the matter of spreading the common speech, for Dante's Italian was chiefly of the Trecento.

And there is the abundant testimony that Varagine's Italian was good Italian. The idea of Spotorno and Mannucci, that he did not have either the "natural environment" or "example" of such writing as is exhibited in the early Bible versions is quite disproved by the fact that some one at least did have such Italian thirty years before Varagine's death and it is the positive testimony of Sixtus and others that Varagine was extraordinarily expert in his Italian.

As a matter of fact he had plenty of examples and his environment was perfect for gaining a mastery over the common speech of all Italy; Dante's "court" language as distinguished from the dialects.

For a full generation before Varagine studied at Bologna, preaching in Italian had been constant and by

well educated friars. The general preachers went into all parts and spoke the common tongue. At this time in Bologna the language had already approached its fixed form. As a general preacher Varagine preached all over Italy and every two or three years at least he was back at Bologna itself.

In the years following his election as Provincial Prior he had better opportunities than ever for acquiring and practicing the language, for he had to pass a good deal of his time in Bologna, including the very time when, according to Boccaccio, Dante was there for the sake of his Italian. He was constantly travelling all over Northern Italy, visiting his convents, looking after their teaching and coming into touch everywhere with the flower of the intellectual aristocracy of the region. Moreover being entrusted with various diplomatic missions to sundry courts he was in constant contact with court life and court language.

As for example of other writers, he had been in intimate companionship from boyhood with many of the Italian poets. The *Epistolario* of Maestro Guido Fava of Bologna was perhaps written the year of his birth. Most or all of the collection of Sieneſe letters had been written before his Bible was finished and some echoes of their language may perhaps be found in the *Arte di ben parlare*.

The *Rhetoric* of Guidotta of Bologna was written during or before Varagine's Bible translation and that of Brunetto Latini certainly before he finished the translation. More interesting still is the fact that from 1260, on, he had the works of Guittone of Arezzo. Guittone

became a Dominican in 1261, that is to say he joined the third Order, The Knights of St. Mary, the same to which the Lady Judith of Padua and her husband belonged. This was at Bologna. He took his religion seriously and Varagine can hardly have failed to have come in contact with him at this time or on his frequent preaching or business visits to Florence, or on Guittone's return to Bologna in 1285.

It was in Bologna, too, that the *Dolce stil nuovo* was founded by Guido Guinicelli, pupil of Guittone, just at the time when Varagine was in his prime and while he was Provincial. Guido died in 1276, just before Varagine finished his first ten years as Provincial Prior. During these ten years Varagine was often in Bologna, in constant companionship with companions of Guido and Guittone and most likely with themselves and certainly he did not lack the very finest linguistic atmosphere of the time.

Again there was no place outside Genoa with which Varagine was so familiar as Milan. The convent of San Eustorgio was his headquarters. All his life there, Varagine must have known Bonvesin da Riva, the Humiliant monk, who was writing so copiously and who was so intimate with and well disposed towards the Dominicans of San Eustorgio that he mentions them in his will for two stout volumes of the Etymologies.

Altogether example and environment could hardly have been better and as to the Bible translation it is to be remembered that the main reason for doubting his authorship was that it was so good that it could not have been written by him—a Genoese, in 1265.

CHAPTER III

Preaching Throughout Italy

HAND in hand with writing, went of course preaching. Whatever else a Dominican friar was, he was always and above all things a Preacher-friar. Whether, therefore, professor, prior, provincial, designator or archbishop, Varagine was, all his life and above all things, a preacher by occupation. In this field he proved versatile and early became famous as an oral preacher "throughout Italy". Later he became still more famous and throughout the civilized world as a writer of sermons.

As an oral preacher he was in constant demand and, it is said, he "preached as an evangelist in almost all of the chief cities of the land." It is expressly alleged that his converts were many. It is said, too, "that he wrought a mighty reformation of morals among the people, and influenced to the love of virtue many who had been given over to the love of pleasure." He was also famously effective in the preaching of peace which characterized the century. He was in short, one of the great preachers of the time, and the time was an age of great preachers. It was the age of the revival of preaching. The two Orders of friars were founded to promote this revival, and soon produced a galaxy

of great preachers. When Varagine was born St. Francis and St. Dominic had only lately died. While he was a child, John of Vicenza was preaching to audiences of tens if not hundreds of thousands that doctrine of peace and reconciliation which it was to be Varagine's own peculiar mission and privilege also to proclaim. Anthony of Padua was still living. Preaching at the same time with Varagine were Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and greatest of all in the pulpit, the Seraphic doctor, St. Bonaventura. Before his death Master Eckhart of his own Order, soon to be Master of Tauler and Suso, was already becoming famous. Somewhere between the popular preachers John of Vicenza and Anthony of Padua, on the one hand, and the scholastic Albertus and Aquinas on the other, stands Varagine.

His training for preaching was the training of his Order, which is to say the most rigorous ever practised save perhaps that used in the Jesuit Order. Preaching was the business of the Order and the training of preachers was taken seriously.

The process began with selection—the choice of novices. This was done under a very definite notion of the kind of a person needed as a preacher, not only intellectually, spiritually, morally and rhetorically, which was a matter of course, but socially as well. This notion is embodied in the Rules of the Order. To be a full preacher a man must be not only apt to preach but “mature, discreet, well-fitted in mind, morals and manners”. The Order never lost sight of the fact that itinerating preachers were to go out into the world and

come in contact with other men under all sorts of circumstances which call for tact and where a breach of manners or morals would tend to "bring the Order into contempt or to imperil souls". They must therefore be such that no scandal of any sort is to be feared from their conduct.

To begin with, they had to mind their manners with one another—in convent or out. Some men, as a suffering Master General remarks, are so rude, that they continually rub their housemates the wrong way, are disobedient to their superiors, harsh to their confrères, and cause mortification to their travel companions by their rude behaviour in public. Such men, it is said, are trying enough within the convent; outside they make themselves intolerable both to their traveling companion and to the public; importunate toward hosts, overbearing to servants, exasperating to strangers. Going as the preachers did, two by two, associated constantly, day and night, there were plenty of occasions for getting on one another's nerves. Add to this that it was a part of their duty to criticise each other for all lapses in conduct and taste and it is obvious that no amount of aptitude, training or instructions in mutual good manners could be wasted. Some of their instructions are very specific. They must not quarrel with one another and especially not in the presence of the secular clergy. If they lose their way there must be no recriminations. They must share their work fairly and not try to get all the best stands. Lodging, the first comer must not seize the best bed.

Necessary as it was to observe good manners among

themselves, it was still more important not to shock strangers. They would be all the time enjoying the hospitality of other convents, of the secular clergy, and, especially at table, of all sorts and conditions of men, up to the most polished. They must know, therefore, how to comport themselves towards hosts and servants and fellow guests of every degree and in matters small as well as great. They must be able, e. g. to conduct themselves properly at table under all circumstances, not likely to scandalize by putting their elbows on the table, eating their soup noisily, drinking from their saucers, looking over the tops of their glasses while they drink, talking with their mouths full or sleeping at table.

Then, too, there were the larger courtesies due to the fact that as preachers they were in a way the guests of the local parish priests and of the bishops—privileged guests with rights to be sure, but yet guests in a way, even when not preaching in the churches, as they mostly did. It was a delicate matter preaching around in these various parishes and the preacher must exercise tact to provoke as little friction as possible with the local clergy. Thoroughly trained as the friars were in their art, their preaching was apt to draw away local congregations. The preachers must therefore be considerate. They must e. g. not preach at the same time as a bishop and thus draw off the congregation which he would otherwise have, also they must not preach at such times as will interfere with the local services before the contribution has been taken up and so on.

The convent training in matters of conduct was therefore unsparing. Every act of the young candidate was

observed and every shortcoming noted, discussed at the daily chapter meeting and penalized. Under these circumstances good breeding emerged almost on a par with eloquence, learning or piety and a real reason appears for the apparent snobbishness of the Orders in seeking for novices among members of well bred families.

The training in preaching was equally intensive and criticism equally unsparing. The aim of every friar was to become a general preacher. Most of course never reached this goal. Indeed only one or two in each convent were supposed to reach it. Most were fated to rest as terminal preachers, preaching within the terms or boundaries allotted to their convents, or even less. As in the Catholic Church today, the standards were applied with a merciful mercilessness and many fell by the way. The most unfit were weeded as novices. Of those who survived many never got beyond preaching in the convent or under its eye.

In the ordinary course of events Varagine would have begun the practice of preaching after he had finished his novitiate and his first year of theology, have practised it in the convent for another year or two and then begun preaching in the neighboring churches, in the city squares, or the nearby country for two years in company with an older brother, afterwards with an equal or junior. At the age of twenty-five, or in 1253, he would have become, after examination by the Provincial chapter, a terminal preacher, licensed to preach anywhere within the convent's towns or territory, and at the same time or soon after, on examination by the General Chap-

ter, he might have become a general preacher, licensed to preach everywhere.

It is hard to say how far this routine in the case of Varagine was affected by his university studies, his special aptitudes and his very special avenues of official influence. All these counted. He may already have had his final licenses in 1251, when at the age of 23 he went to Genoa to teach. The twenty-five year rule was none too well kept anyway. Complaint was made about this time that many became preachers at too early an age. If there were exceptions they would have been likely to affect Varagine, whose brilliant gifts were early developed, and whose home life and university studies had given early maturity of personality and social preparation. Shortly after this time it appears in fact that the university degree not only carried with it the rights of a general preacher but created a class distinct and superior.

Even if licensed for general preaching, however, it is not likely that during the early years of teaching, Varagine would have preached much afield in the actual routine of itinerant work. The rules indeed expressly provide that the teacher shall be relieved of or forbidden such preaching, in order to give himself wholly to his teaching.

However, that may be, when Varagine came to Genoa in the late spring of 1251, he had had seven years of rigorous training and practice in the art and was ripe for its exercise.

Whether he went afield or not there was in any event, plenty of local work for him to do. To begin with

there was the preaching within the cloister and to friars or converts only. This was daily, often twice a day, or even more on special occasions. Then there was preaching in the convent church or in neighborhood churches of which a number in any city might stand in some special relationship to the Order. Finally and above all there was street preaching.

The open air preaching was in the common tongue. It is hard to say at what time the Latin went out and the vernacular entered in the public preaching of the churches. Possibly it was about this time, probably much earlier. Latin certainly held on in the church long after it was a dead language to the average man. At this time most educated persons understood it, did much of their reading in it, and no doubt often listened to sermons in Latin as well as in Italian, but they did business in Italian, and were rapidly substituting it for Latin, Provençal and French in social life of all degrees. Within the cloisters the preaching was in Latin but even here, in this mid-century, there was already preaching once a week, at communion, in the vernacular for the sake of the "converts" or lay brothers who did not understand the Latin. Preaching outside the churches was wholly in Italian. Sermons were delivered, sometimes from the steps of the churches, sometimes from out of doors pulpits attached to the front of the churches, as at San Eustorgio in Milan where Varagine preached often, or separately erected in the public square, as at the Baptistry at Pistoia, or from movable pulpits, tall or short, or from carts, trees, roadside elevations or what not.

This preaching on the public squares was subject to the inconveniences of all street preaching, the weather, the ordinary noise and jostling of public concourse, sometimes mob violence and often heckling. Weather conditions interfere less in Italy than in northern countries, yet had to be reckoned with. On one occasion and doubtless many, the preaching was disturbed by the loud singing of girls dancing in the square. On others preacher and congregation were pelted with missiles from neighboring house-tops. On one famous occasion at Florence, certainly not unique, the meeting was interrupted by a free fight with swords between the orthodox and the heretics. Heckling was common even inside the church and of course much more so outside. Often, especially in the preaching against heresy, this critical interruption reached the dimensions of a public debate, premeditated or impromptu as the case might be. More often it took the form of a fire of questions sometimes in good faith, but more frequently in derision.

The best illustration of what this popular interruption really was like, is perhaps afforded by the modern Jesuit dialogue preaching, called the preaching of the Learned and the Ignorant man, which might, until lately, and may perhaps yet, be heard in Rome at certain times, by those who know the ways. This is still a popular preaching, although within the church, with big audiences of plain and eager faced hearers, but the populace is represented, not from the congregation but by a second preacher who posing as the unlearned man, interjects all sorts of remarks, especially questions, in the Trasteveran dialect. This is all, of course, under Jesuit

production, meticulously studied. The questions are so many rhetorical devices for bringing out the point. It is so perfectly staged that, when street calls start up, apparently at the church door, it is impossible for the visitor to say whether they are real or a part of the intentional imitation of the customary interruptions of open air speaking in the public square.

By 1251, vernacular preaching had become the custom in Italy. John the Teuton, the Master General who had picked Varagine and taken him to Cologne with him and who died in 1252, preached "in many languages". All preaching against heretics or for the reformation of public morals or any popular preaching must necessarily have been in the Italian. A significant straw showing the wind in this direction was a rule of the Dominicans passed in 1242, forbidding preachers to write their sermons in Italian. This was at the same time a recognition of the fact that Italian had come to stay in oral popular preaching and a protest against the equally inevitable but slightly more remote coming of the vernacular in written literature and in society. Written Italian sermons were no new thing. They had existed certainly since 1193. The rule simply shows that the practice was becoming common. The standard practice was of course to write abstract in Latin, even when the sermon was given in Italian.

Italian oral preaching must have been common for longer still. If written sermons date back to 1193, oral must go still farther back. The preaching of the Provençal heretics, which suggested to St. Dominic, early in the century, the Order of Preachers, was in the ver-

narular. Already in his day it was idle to address the populace in Latin. St. Dominic and St. Francis, too, must have preached commonly in the Italian—certainly St. Francis composed in it. Honourous III, who died in 1221, is said to have deposed a bishop because he knew no Latin. John of Vicenza, preaching to multitudes, in the plains of Verona could hardly have used anything but the vernacular. The records written in Latin, do not say what language he used but they quote certain responses by hearers in Italian which tend to show that they understood what was said.

All this is far too little dwelt on in most pictures of the times. The common use of Italian is generally assumed to belong to a later date and one loses thus the atmosphere of this mid-century time when Varagine began his preaching. The fact is that Latin was already dead. Even among the educated, except in the Church and the Universities, Italian was the language in which men thought and talked with one another. Not only did Dante speak it from the nursery but his parents before him and it was "the bond of union between them, welding them together as fire welds iron for the blacksmith." It was through the Italian that he himself "entered into Latin", not contrariwise. Moreover as he also shows, the language had changed little in the fifty years preceding his own Italian writings.

The Breviary implies that it was in this field of the vernacular that Varagine's supreme success as preacher lay. He spoke the Italian, it is said, with remarkable elegance. This was natural enough. He had had three years study at Bologna to begin with and went back

there every year or two all his life. Bologna was already the recognized standard for language. A few years later Dante was sent there for this reason.

Few writers on the Italian language seem to have realised how significant the fact is, that the Preacher Friars, especially after 1248, studied at and frequented Bologna. Every convent had its school for training preachers who went out and preached throughout Italy in the Italian. Even before 1248, the leading men in the convents studied canon law at Bologna and they met at least once in two years there for a Chapter meeting. After the establishment of a general study at Bologna in 1248, students of theology as well, from all the convents of Italy, came to study in this atmosphere where the Bolognese Italian was the common speech. After 1248, they would be trained in the niceties of the language with all the characteristic vigor which was applied to training in manners and sermon writing. Going back to their convents they would repeat this teaching and issuing forth, two and two, preach throughout the convent terms and throughout Italy in this tongue. Every two or three years they would return to Bologna for a chapter meeting and refresh with one another the common usage of the common speech. All this means that the Preaching Orders and especially the Dominicans contributed more than any other factor—court or minstrels, common law graduates or popular songs not excepted—towards making the Bologna finish, the standard. The court gave its cachet and fixed the standard by written compositions. The friars, however, frequented both court and highway. They penetrated into

all parts. It came to pass, therefore, long before 1248, that the preachers had naturally and of necessity adopted and by the same token spoke and preached the court Italian—that language “found in every city and peculiar to none though perhaps more characteristic of one than of another”, which Dante found most characteristic of Bologna. The influence of these men going forth into every nook and cranny of the land and speaking in a trained and uniform speech, was organized and universal, where the work of the minstrelsy was desultory and could hardly enter into comparison as the means of spreading a common language. From the time of introducing theology at Bologna in 1248 it is easy to see between the pages of the history of the Italian language, the picture of the many preachers trained at Bologna and practising the language as taught and spoken there, going back to their convents, out of which they and their pupils issued, raking Italy with a fine toothed rake for converts, preaching and what is even more, constantly conversing with all sorts and conditions of men, in their mother tongue, learned in the nursery and polished at Bologna.

No recognized specimen of Varagine’s Italian sermons is extant. He seems to have kept the rule against writing and so far as yet known, not to have had any enthusiastic hearer to take down his utterance as others had. The substance of these sermons we have in the written Latin sermons and the style may perhaps be judged from the Italian translations of the Bible and perhaps his own *Golden Legend*, and the “Art of good speaking”.

The first preaching task to meet the young friar after

he left his university, was the original historic first object of the Order, the conquering of heresy by preaching.

Going from Bologna to Genoa directly after the meeting of the Provincial chapter in 1251, he must have reached there at about the time that Innocent arrived from Lyons and have seen thus the opening of the most famous preaching campaign against the heretics since the days of the founder of the Order. Frederick II had died in December, 1250, but Innocent did not return to Italy at once. He lingered at Lyons until the middle of April, 1251, waiting apparently to see how things would develop. Then he set out. By the seventh of May he had reached Ventimiglia. He reached Genoa on or before the 30th day of May and was there until at least the 22nd of June, on his way to Milan where he arrived some time before July 17th. While at Genoa he passed a busy month issuing letter after letter so rapidly that he had afterwards to apologize for the errors of haste. Among the most significant of these letters was that addressed to Peter of Verona and Vivian of Parma on the 8th of June, sending them personally to Cremona to work "for the extirpation of heresy out of this city and district,"—the famous Bull "Ad Extirpandum". This was the first trumpet call of the new campaign against heresy which the death of Frederick made possible.

Certainly from the point of view of the orthodox it was high time for such a campaign. Frederick had been the most cruel of all religious persecutors while he was its chief Inquisitor but, when he fell out with the Holy

See, he naturally protected all who were in opposition to Rome. The result was that Northern Italy became a refuge for persecuted heretics from everywhere. They flocked into Lombardy until heretical preachers were numbered by the thousands and their followers could be described as innumerable. This heresy was by no means confined to the plain people. The heretics had their own schools and sent their most promising students to the University of Paris to be educated. Often their men of learning proved quite able to hold their own in argument with the orthodox scholars. Varagine himself gives a curious and interesting account, in his sketch in the Golden Legend of this same Peter of Verona, who shortly became St. Peter Martyr. Once, he says, in a public disputation with a heretic bishop, St. Peter was so put to his wits' end by the arguments of the heretic that he had to ask time and retire and pray for miraculous help to overcome him. It speaks volumes for the toleration of the times that such freedom of speech should have been allowed and volumes for the education of the times that the reasoning method should have been taken so seriously, but because it was taken seriously, the situation called for the very best talent and without doubt the brilliant preaching abilities of Varagine called him into service at once, together with all other members of the Order who showed special ability.

It is hard for the modern mind to understand this campaign against heresy, but it is worth while for its own sake, and quite necessary for the understanding of Varagine, to try, since the leadership of the work in all North Italy was vested in the Dominican Order, as it

was for Southern Italy in the Franciscan, and later for fifteen years Varagine was to be the responsible leader of the Order in Northern Italy.

The first and most significant thing about it is the fact that this was a preaching campaign. It was a crusade of conversion not of persecution; it was for extirpating heresy not heretics.

The work was, it is true, closely associated with and conducted by the Inquisition, but the persecuting work of the Inquisition was at this time under the Dominicans the very least part of its work. Death was, to be sure, threatened and torture allowed by the Bulls but preaching was the reliance and torture or death in fact rare. Deaths for heresy anywhere in Northern Italy during this century were rather few compared with what is commonly supposed, while in Genoa where the Bull was issued and where Varagine was the leading Dominican for most of the period, no man was put to death for his religious opinions during Varagine's lifetime and only one suffered forfeiture of goods. A striking commentary on the fact that the conversion not the death of the heretic was the object of this campaign of preaching, is the circumstance that even the heretic murderers of St. Peter Martyr were not only not put to death, but on repentance, were actually, it is alleged, admitted to the Dominican Order.

It was thus a preaching campaign, even for the Inquisitors themselves. Their chief duty and, in some localities, often their only possible activity, was preaching or public disputation with heretics. In the territory of Ugolino and Ezzolino, e. g. the campaign was neces-

sarily confined to preaching since they protected all heretics as allies against Rome. The Inquisitors had therefore to be good preachers and it is not surprising that when, by the Bull of the 29th day of May, 1254, to the Provincial Prior of the Dominicans in Lombardy, it was ordered that four of the brethren should be appointed as Inquisitors in Lombardy, Bologna, Ferrara and Genoa, it was especially required that they should be "eloquent preachers" (*Sermone potentes*).

An admirable sketch of the work of Inquisitors is given by Varagine himself in his life of St. Peter Martyr, and this points almost wholly to preaching. He says that Peter exercised his functions as Inquisitor with care, "searching out the heretics everywhere, giving them no rest, marvelously confounding them all, repressing with authority, convincing them with address, so that they could not resist the wisdom and spirit which spoke by his mouth." He describes him as the "fearless preacher".

This preaching against heresy was necessarily chiefly in Italian and in public places. Such preaching being Varagine's chief forte, he was certainly in the midst of it—whether in Genoa and convent territory only, or farther afield.

CHAPTER IV

The Golden Legend

HOWEVER popular and effective Varagine may have been in oral address, he was more popular and more effective in his writings and first among these in time and in popularity was the Golden Legend. This is not only his most famous work; it is one of the most noted popular books of all ages. It has been spoken of as the "most read book, with the exception of the Holy Scriptures", during the late Middle Ages, the only books to compare with it in popularity being, it is said, Reynard the Fox and the Romance of the Rose. It has also been called the most copied book of its time, "Scriptures not excepted". This must be doubted but there are in fact possibly five hundred manuscripts (against perhaps eight thousand Latin Bible manuscripts) of it still extant, while more than one hundred and fifty editions of the original and translations were published during the first century of printing. It was translated into all the civilized languages of the mediaeval world. Many well-thumbed vellum copies among the extant manuscripts of the Latin original, testify to its constant use by clerics for their own edification or for public reading, while the paper copies of early English translations are so worn

to pieces by use that it is hard to find one that is complete.

It was this extraordinary popularity which gave to the work the name of "Golden Legend". Varagine himself called it simply a *Legendary of the Saints*. Others called it *Lives of the Saints* or even *Legenda Lombardica*, but popular acclaim early made of it, *Legenda aurea*—The Golden Legend.

This unparalleled popularity lasted for nearly three centuries but in the pre-Reformation time it died a sudden death at the hands of the critics, Wicelius, Caro, Vives and others. It was perhaps the Faust book of 1587, which gave the coup-de-grace. The critics denied the work historical merit, style, devotional value or any excellence whatever. They scoffed at the name Golden, and reviled the author as a man with "mouth of iron and heart of lead". The Roman Catholics allowed themselves too readily to become ashamed of the work and the joint result of Reformed vehemence and Catholic timidity was, to kill popularity. It did not quite put an end to the work itself but it buried it alive. For three centuries following, only a slight movement now and then showed that there was any life left, but in the middle of the nineteenth century and again at the end, there were signs of something like a real revival, which is restoring the book not to its old popularity, naturally, for times have changed, but to a certain well deserved fame and influence on account of its real merits and its extraordinary influence on the history of human imagination and character. Within a few years the whole

work has been several times reprinted, in original or in translation.

It is this Golden Legend which is Varagine's most unmistakable title to fame. The work consists of 182, more or less, short chapters on all the saints and festivals in the church calendar, according to the Dominican use, as then recently established, beginning with the Advent and ending with the Dedication of Churches. There is a general prologue and the individual chapters, so far as they relate to the saints, have each its own prologue in the form of a brief etymology of the saint's name. Finally a short history of Lombardy or rather a group of Lombard legends, is added to the chapter on Pelagius and this misplaced but illuminating bit of pseudo-history often gives title to the whole work as the *Historia Lombardica*.

The work is thus not a history of the saints, as it is sometimes called, nor yet strictly lives of the saints, for it has a score or so of chapters on festivals which do not bear a saint's name at all. It is, in short, as Varagine himself called it, a lectionary or daily reading for the church year. It was neither a collection of critical biographies on the one hand, nor of myths or legends in the modern sense of legends, on the other. It was a collection of popular religious biographies intended to be read publicly in or outside the churches for pious edification. Moreover, and this is much to the point, being used in this way meant that the sermon on the occasion would be apt to be founded on it, as other sermons are founded on the Gospel lectionary. Add to this that what the author had probably first in

mind was an outdoor audience in the public square and in the vernacular, rather than an indoor audience, and we have the situation in which the Legend was oftenest read—and read in fact probably on millions of occasions—from the steps of the church or the outdoor pulpits.

This fact as to the purpose explains both the biographical chapters themselves and their etymological prologues. The chapters consist largely of chains of miracles which give to the whole work the aspect of a collection of anecdotes rather than a true biography. They are not, therefore, by any means, unscholarly, nor even uncritical, judged by the standards of the times and the author's obvious intention. They are founded on the best accessible sources of the time and the sources are cited. Moreover if the author finds reason to doubt a certain encounter of St. Hilary with the heretic Pope because no Pope is a heretic and there was no such Pope as the one alleged, he says so. If he finds that the alleged bones of the Innocents are much too large to be their bones, he mentions the fact. The purpose was, however, not instruction in history but inspiration in religion and he chooses, arranges and treats his material accordingly. It should not be forgotten in this connection that the church as well as literary custom allows a free use of doubtful or fictitious miracles just as parables are used in the New Testament—as perfectly good expressions of a religious idea whether the events ever happened or not.

The etymologies, are in fact, shamelessly unscientific, or rather make no pretense whatever to scientific intent. They are so hopeless from the critical point of view that

they are sometimes omitted in despair from the sober editions, but from the homiletic point of view of the time they might be called very good indeed. Certainly they are ingenious. Agatha e. g. is said to be from *aga*—speaking, and *thau*—perfection, and Anthony from *ana*—up, and *tenens*—holding—which is at least mixed.

The purpose of the derivation, not being in the least bit critical or historical but simply to discover allegorical or even punning turns which may express the character of the saint in question, was artistic, not scientific, and success is to be judged by its suitability to the idea. This allegorical interpretation was quite in the spirit of the time as to sermons and Varagine was sometimes, if possible, even more fantastically allegorical in his sermons than in these etymologies. As for judging these fancy-free exercises solemnly, as serious minded and bitter spirited critics have done, one might as well take Lamb's puns or Luther's table-talk literally.

The general prologue gives the plan of the work. It treats of the divisions of the church year and, he says, "It is according to this division that we proceed to the study of the various festivals, beginning with Advent."

This first chapter, on the Advent, is not unlike one of his sermons, but the second, the legend of St. Andrew is a good example of the style which gave the work its vogue and runs, in outline, as follows: Calling of Saint Andrew; he delivers Saint Matthew; he miraculously saves a young man from a house on fire; he delivers a woman; by his prayers he obtains the release of an old man; drives out seven demons; brings to life forty sailors; goes to Achaia; is questioned by Egeus; his de-

fense, punishment, burial; bishop preserved from temptation by him; miraculous punishment of a prefect. Obviously the aim here is neither historical nor biographical; but devotional, and chiefly popular devotion.

The rest follows the same method but nevertheless, and this is the significant point, in endless variety, for every saint is saint because he is the embodiment of some special aspect or quality of human excellence. Sainthood is the apotheosis of the virtues. Every saint is a human being in whom some divine trait of character stands out preeminent. The work is thus a panorama of personal distinction in the highest field for such distinction—man's relations with the superhuman. In such a panorama a Dominican writer of today would place Varagine himself as the peacemaker. It seems a far cry from a religious work like this to Shakespeare, Cervantes and the modern novel, but at bottom all these have this common mainspring—the wealth and variety of human nature ranging the whole field of emotions and the whole fellowship of an organized human society.

Perhaps the best way to get a basis of insight into the actual nature of the book and its influence is to take one of the miracle anecdotes and look at it in some detail. The story of Theophilus will do. This is one of eight miracles given under the nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It was a famous theme found in many an earlier source, especially in the poem of Hroswitha. It is found likewise in many a later work and seldom without some trace of the transforming touch of the Golden Legend.

Varagine does not quote his particular authority for this tale, but for the chapter in general he quotes the

Ecclesiastical History, the Venerable Bede, John of Damascus, Jerome's Prologue and John Behalen—a formidable group of authorities, showing at least his respect for those who respect authorities.

The story runs as follows: In the year of our Lord, 537, there lived in Cicilia a man named Theophilus, the vicar of a bishop. So wisely did he administer his charge that when the bishop died the people chose Theophilus by acclamation for the bishopric, but he, content with his office, declined in favor of another, who soon after put Theophilus out of office. Whereupon the deposed vicar, naturally vexed, betook himself to a Jewish sorcerer for help to get back his position. The sorcerer summoned the Devil, who came in haste. At his direction Theophilus renounced Christ and the Virgin, writing his renunciation with his own blood and sealing it with his ring. He gave the document to the Devil, devoted himself to his service and was on the following day re-established in his office and in the favor of the bishop. When Theophilus came to himself and realized what he had done, he was in despair, and besought the Virgin with all his heart to help him. She, appearing to him in a vision, reproached him for his wickedness, bade him renounce the Devil and confess his faith in Christ and Christian doctrine. She received him once more into favor, and in token of forgiveness appeared again to him and returned the document, leaving it on his breast as a sign that he was no longer in bondage, but freed by the Virgin. Theophilus rejoicing mightily, told the bishop and the people what had happened and while all

wondered and gave praise to the glorious Virgin, after three days, he died in peace.

The lesson here drawn in the story of the final salvation of Theophilus through the help of the Virgin is characteristic of the theology, the literature and the humanity of the time. It is found often in Varagine and in hundreds of mediaeval poems and tales on this and kindred stories, and is sharply distinguished from the Reformation doctrine which crystalized in the Faust legend.

In the Golden Legend the Faust theme of a compact with Satan occurs at least three times, and in each case the sinner is saved through the intercession of the Virgin Mary. This climax was, of course, peculiarly obnoxious to Reformation Protestants and the Faust book of 1587 was, it is said, in fact devised by them as a sort of counter blast to the Golden Legend. It was, so it is said, intended to show the awful consequences of selling one's self to the Devil — Faust meets a dreadful end instead of being saved by the Virgin as in the Golden Legend. Goethe, of course, returned to the idea of salvation — "Whoe'er aspires unweariedly is not beyond redeeming." It must be confessed that the earlier and later forms make a more winsome tale than the grim if salutary moral of the Faust book.

One curious detail of the Golden Legend version of this Theophilus story, gives a specific clue by which to trace the wide influence of the Legend on the popular imagination of later times. This is the signing with blood. The idea runs all through the later history of Devil compacts. It cropped up even in the Salem witch-

craft and one hears it everywhere today, but apparently it appeared for the first time in this context in the Golden Legend. The story occurs in a great variety of forms and kindred tales of compacts with Satan are many, but up to the time of Varagine apparently there was no mention of the signing of the contracts in blood. What is even more curious is the fact that this detail was probably not in the original work of Varagine but was added after. It was to be sure added during his lifetime, and possibly by him, but the evidence suggests that the earliest manuscripts read simply "his own handwriting" while "his own blood and handwriting", is the elaboration of some copyist in the north of France. On the other hand, however, whether the idea was new or not, it is the fact that this detail was introduced into the Golden Legend which makes the signing with blood so familiar today.

This Theophilus story also forms a concrete illustration by which to suggest the influence of the Golden Legend on the culture history of later times—especially on art and literature. Most writers on mediaeval art, e. g. Male, Roze, Wyzewa, Gillett, recognize a dominating influence of the Golden Legend. "For three centuries painters and sculptors did little but illustrate the Golden Legend in every kind of way," "Whenever some detail of some picture seems inexplicable open the Golden Legend and you find the key. It is because we have not read this enough that we are in doubt." It must be confessed that a mere scholar is a little baffled when he tries to verify such sweeping claims but there is no doubt that the expert in art recognizes touches in many works

which are as characteristic of the Golden Legend for art as the signature in blood is for literature and there is no doubt also that it was in fact the working handbook of multitudes of painters—quite likely of Fra Angelico, among others, as claimed.

Without insisting that all the works of art which touch the Theophilus story are based on the Golden Legend, it may be remarked that this theme is one which often does occur in art and that it forms at least a good subject for studying how far the influence of the Golden Legend can be traced.

The influence of the Legend on literature is to be found wherever the subject appears. The name itself recurs in Longfellow's poems. The Theophilus story is incentive to all the Faust stories, different as they are in detail. The Legend of St. Christopher brings the matter well up to date in one of the most interesting of recent operas.

The work was written after the death of Frederick II. in 1249, for this is mentioned in it and it was finished before 1258, for it is implied that from the death of St. Peter Martyr until the time of publication, Milan had remained free from heresy, whereas in 1258 heretics had such influence with the popular party in Milan that the Inquisitor was actually chased out of the Dominican convent and out of the city.

The origin of the work was closely connected with the great movement for the revision of the Dominican liturgy which was finished just about the time of the completion of the Legend. This was apparently Varagine's contribution to the great undertaking, though not a part of the

official corpus. No doubt it was begun even before the death of Frederick—probably soon after the call of the Chapter at Cologne, in 1245, for the gathering of the legends of Dominic and other saints.

Altogether the suggested date of 1255, for first publication is probably not far wrong. Whether this was the author's final form is not so certain. He lived another forty years and many little changes were made during this time—such as a certain miracle of 1259, in the life of St. Peter Martyr and the introduction of the signature in blood into the Theophilus legend as above mentioned. The chapters on St. Clare, too, must have been later for she had not been canonized in 1255—yet this and two or three others were probably introduced during the life time of the author as there were at least three additions to his Chronicle before his death. In the main the changes during his lifetime were few. The form was practically fixed before 1260. It is safe to say that only such chapters were included by the author himself as represent saints added to the Dominican Breviary during that time. The manuscripts show that multitudes of chapters were afterwards added in various countries, largely lives of local saints. These were gradually combined by copyists and printers into one body, but are readily distinguishable from the original. The manuscripts, the Italian translation and the Breviary unite to show that with very few variations the author's text of the Golden Legend is well represented by the standard Latin edition and the French translations, the first 182 chapters representing this text, while the other chapters represent additions by other

hands. Criticism may subtract a few but will hardly add any to the 182. These do not include the chapters which have been alleged to convict Varagine of coarseness, none of which are by him but all later additions.

The immediate popularity of the work is shown by the large number of existing 13th. century manuscripts. There are probably not less than one hundred extant which date from Varagine's own lifetime. These were, even in his day, it appears, scattered all over England, France and Germany as well as Italy, and the dated ones indicate that the work had achieved this general international popularity before 1282, and probably before 1262. The lasting character of its influence is shown by the fact that after two hundred years of undiminished vogue, the invention of printing increased its demand so that for more than fifty years, on the average, two editions were printed each year.

No doubt the reasons for this extensive spreading of the Golden Legend are many, but the real cause must lie very near the springs of universal human nature and the secret of why any book is popular. A sudden and short vogue may have any one of many reasons, but when a book is intensely popular for three hundred years, the reason must lie near the heart of human interest. Some of the reasons alleged are obvious. Something is to be said for the suitability of the theme to the spirit of the time. It often happens that a book by touching precisely the theme which is uppermost in men's minds, gets a large hearing from this fact. This was true of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It is true also of the Golden Legend. Its time was the time of the widespread popu-

lar and universal interest in spiritism, veneration of the saints, and especially veneration of the Virgin.

Much more is to be said for the theme itself. The lives of the saints have always been fascinating. There have been many much read collections before and since the Golden Legend, if none so popular as this. Saints are simply the heroes of the church—the heroes of faith. By faith they have wrought herculean deeds, endured hardships gladly, held fast to the utmost ideals, achieved immeasurable heights of chivalry, courtesy, fidelity, gentleness. By faith they have passed through incredible adventures, suffered incredible hardships, surmounted incredible obstacles, attained incredible successes. By a process of natural selection, sometimes, but not always, confirmed with the seal of church authority, they have been chosen out of the billions of those who have adventured, suffered, learned and achieved as those who have exhibited in highest measure what those who aspire unwearyedly may become and do. They are the incarnations of the virtues which are the divinity in man—courage, patience, gentleness, unconsciousness, fidelity, toleration. A list of the saints marshals in review the whole procession of human experience of the superhuman; it exhibits every sort and condition of man touched with the flame of passionate fidelity to the Ideal. The theme is the organized quintessence of religious experience.

If farther considered as a question why Varagine succeeded when others failed with the same theme, it may be said that this was because he knew his subject better, he knew his audience better, and he knew his art better.

The Abbé Roze has analyzed the sources used by Varagine and finds that he refers to no less than one hundred and thirty authorities. He was, whatever else may be said of him, therefore, a man thoroughly familiar with his sources. Farther than this, he is not only familiar with but faithful to these sources. The major part of Varagine's tales are, as so unimpeachable a critic as Bollandus declares, in full accord with the sources. Farther still he uses his sources in a way critically. He frequently introduces his stories by, "It is said", or in some way disclaims any responsibility for the truthfulness of the account. He was full to the brim with information on his subject and a great range of other pertinent subjects as well. What is more, this knowledge is at his very finger tips. As in all his works, he is so saturated with his material, that the apposite thing comes forth spontaneously at the right moment.

Another secret of the popularity of the book is to be found in the fact that Varagine knew his audience. He was, in the first place, a man in touch with all classes of people from the most scholarly to the most ignorant. This fact has been, and will often be referred to as the main key to his life and the student of his works can hardly fail to notice how this enters into his literary style. His books range from the most scholastic, down to the very plainest and simplest statement of the most simple truths. A single volume of his sermons will contain sermons in all styles from the most intricately learned to the plainest, full of illustration, touched with humor and its applications couched in the simplest and clearest terms. This is true also of the *Golden Legend*,

where, however, the scholastic is at its least and the plain and simple at its greatest, precisely because it was directly intended for the people. Whatever he did he showed unusual touch with the feeling of the common people, and this fact alone is enough to explain the popularity of the Golden Legend. His popularity is because he was himself truly popular.

And then he knew his art. It must be confessed that his Latin style has been weighed by competent critics and found short. Even such admirers as Ellis, Roze, Wyzewa and Bollandus confess some lack in this regard, and if by style is meant the simple matter of latinity, no doubt the finding is just. The Latin is in fact more or less rude. Roze points out that much of this is due to the wholesale quotation from older writers. Sources are often absorbed in bulk with all their faults, and it is even possible that Varagine had before him a short earlier Latin work of a familiar character, which he used as basis and absorbed whole. But apart from this, the Latin is not highly finished. Wyzewa calls it the "honest Latin of the sacristy" but it was certainly much more than that. It was at least flexible, copious, apt and far better fitted for popular instruction than the Latin of that disciple of the elegant Erasmus who presses the charge of rudeness against the Legend so fiercely, but it is not Erasmian.

Granting defects of latinity, however, and whatever the reasons for them, there are still enough elements of art remaining to account for the popularity. Language is only the outward form of style—its face and dress, not its backbone, heart or brain. Varagine's style has all the inward merits, structure, focus, restraint, apt selec-

tion of material, integrity, detachment, simplicity, humor and a feeling for all personal situations.

Roze finds the whole secret of the relative popular success of the *Golden Legend* to other collections, in one single quality—its naïveté. The one thing that other lives of the saints lack he says, is just this naturalness. There is doubtless some truth in this. Simplicity is the ultimate in style and the work is in fact marked by that sincerity, naturalness and freedom from pose which always charms in literature or in life. This, however, is by no means the whole story. One must add that it is the ingenuousness of a man of learning, of vivid and often poetic imagination, of deep sympathy with both man and brute, a hero-worshipper in a modern sense and a man of unflagging enthusiasm for both the human and the superhuman. The simple, unaffected, sincere discourse of such a man is naturally interesting, however much it may be handicapped by his material and his stylistic shortcomings. Add to these flexibility and appropriateness in the use of words, strong imagination and poetic feeling, and the constant appeal to those emotions which the history of literature has shown unfailingly to respond to every skillful touch—the love of the marvelous and of the unexpected, hero worship, the spirit of endurance, self-sacrifice, charity, forgiveness, and there is a combination of artistic excellencies sufficient to account for more than a modest success.

The question naturally arises why a book with such admirable qualities should ever have suffered eclipse. It probably never would have done so if times had not changed so radically. The work of Varagine is the

quintessence of prereformation Catholicism. It breathes the spirit of St. Francis and St. Dominic, of devout veneration of the Saints and of the Virgin and of ascetic devotion. On the other hand, it is full of demons and magic, temptation and rescue. The Reformation being essentially Protestant, the quintessence of Catholicism naturally called forth the quintessence of protest. The bitterness of attack was proportioned to the popularity of the book. The centre of bitterness was undoubtedly the veneration of the Saints and the Virgin and the miracles ascribed to them. As represented in *Varagine*, there is much in this attitude which is beautiful and inspiring to character, but in the eyes of the Reformers, it was all the more dangerous on this ground. The Golden Legend and the Reformation could not exist side by side and the Legend went under. If *Varagine* had been a St. Francis or a Dante his book might have defied even the Reformation but *Varagine's* great genius lacked that last cupful of divine mead—the book was overwhelmed.

By the same token, among the reasons for the present revival of the work, the first is the passing of the polemic need. The battle has been fought and conditions have changed. Men are disposed to be juster and more discriminating. The Protestants who have held the book in captivity for more than three centuries can afford now to be generous in the recognition of its moral and spiritual as well as of its literary excellencies. They might well go much farther. That the book was calculated to promote the love of and reverence for Jesus Christ, as well as the veneration of the Saints and is fitted to encourage charity, fortitude, purity of life and

religious enthusiasm, no one can justly deny. The Catholics themselves have paved the way for a profitable use of the work by Protestants, by distinguishing between veneration and worship, by elevating the idea of veneration and by recognizing a use of miracles as parables, when in doubt. Protestants may well meet them part way by recognizing spiritual values in spiritual fiction and confessing to themselves that they were undoubtedly wrong in denying many of these miracles as matters of fact. It may be left to theologians and psychologists to fight out the question why miraculous healings, for example, happened, but that they did happen in large numbers no one now doubts and psychologists recognize that they are apt to happen, when they do happen, through men of strong personality—as saints are apt to be.

A more positive reason for returning interest in the work is the very simple fact that it is interesting. It must be confessed that the average reader today does not care to sit down and read it through in course, although Mr. Ellis, the editor of the Caxton translation, says that he has himself done this completely from beginning to end as many as six times with "unabated interest". For most readers it is better as a book to pick up and do in sections, than as one to be read systematically. It is too much like reading a collection of *Ana*, and it was, in fact, written for use in small sections. In spite, however, of this, and in spite of all qualifications as to style, it is interesting today, if not to "the general" at least to the very considerable number of those with taste and sympathy for mediaeval things at their best. It

may be of absorbing interest to one willing to fall in with its spiritual attitude.

Probably the chief actual reason for the interest in the Golden Legend today is, however, the historical—the light which it throws on mediaeval life and on the many elements in modern art, literature and folklore of which it is the source. Roze calls it a “veritable manual of Iconography and Liturgic”, and it was this fact which furnished him the motive for his work. “It is,” he says, “with the idea of being useful to artists and scholars that we have devoted a large share of our life to the study of the Golden Legend.” He refers to Ozanam’s exposition of its influence on poetry, as well as to the fact that it is the key to much of the best in painting. Wyzewa, too, is a writer on art and goes at his task from this standpoint.

A good reason for encouraging the revival is that no one else has yet produced an introduction to the goodly fellowship of the saints at all comparable for diversity, felicity and spiritual aroma. There is nothing like it today to which one impressed by the dauntless spirit of those who in the ages have been made alive by the unquenchable fires of faith, can turn if he would be set on fire by the same aspiration—nothing at least for saints since the time of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Varagine’s fame rests on the Golden Legend. It was not his greatest accomplishment. This was the Bible translation. But the Legend is his path to fame. One popular book far out-weighs a lifetime of distinguished service as teacher, Provincial of his Order, and Archbishop, with all his sermons and treatises. The one most

popular book was by the same token more useful than all his other books, and all the labors of a lifetime—his translation of the Bible excepted.

CHAPTER V

The Minstrels of the Lord

IT is startling to the uninitiated to read that one of Varagine's enterprises while Provincial Prior for the second time, was the organization of a band of minstrels. The performers, more than twenty-five in number, were recruited from the many novices of Saint Eustorgio in Milan, Varagine's official residence as Provincial Prior. They were dressed quite in the style of the secular minstrels of the day, in loose ivory-colored short cloaks and flat white shoes, and, like the secular minstrels, their performances included not only recitations, songs and instrumental music, but acrobatic feats and dancing. They gave performances for the entertainment of the nuns of Milan and of visiting friars.

This fact, recorded by a somewhat scandalized and scandalous chronicler of the very time and city where this experiment was made, plunges one into the midst of some of the most picturesque circumstances of the social life of Varagine's time, involving as it does secular minstrelsy in its widest sense, on the one hand, and St. Francis with his Minstrels of the Lord and the whole story of the development of the medieval stage on the other.

On the face of it, the matter certainly does seem to need explanation. The professional minstrelsy of the time

was as far from being pious, or ecclesiastical, as the stage of today is, and perhaps farther from being moral. Those who know it best, therefore, need the explanation most, and it is small wonder if the men of his time sometimes misunderstood the enterprise. The key to the riddle is, however, not far to seek. It is found in St. Francis and his Minstrels of the Lord, in Fra Giacomino, in Bonvesin da Riva, in Jacopone da Todi, "God's Fool" (Buffo) and in the methods of Varagine. These reveal this enterprise as one of the most characteristic of Varagine's efforts to fight the world with its own weapons. This was, of course, also the idea of Bonvesin da Riva, greatest of the Lombard poets, who had at this time been practising his art for at least ten years in Milan. The kernel of the idea of Varagine and of St. Francis, and of all their many predecessors and successors, in such enterprises, was to substitute sacred amusements for secular amusements. The object was the "reformation of morals." The people at this time were mad after theatrical amusements — not more so, perhaps, than at many another time in the world's history, but much more than at most times. Such things go in waves and this was one of the wave crests. It was precisely in Varagine's time that this passion for popular amusement had developed to such a degree and grown frivolous to such an extent as to call for the most vigorous protests on the part of the church. It was complained that people were neglecting church attendance and thronging the entertainments of minstrels, spending in them a vast amount of money which might well have been put to more pious uses. Foolish youths, it was said, spent all their time

and money running around to these entertainments, while the entertainers themselves vied with one another in salaciousness and in broadness of humor. It was the age of the goliards. The edicts and private utterances of the ecclesiastics are, therefore, full of invectives and accusations against the minstrels, and some of these sound curiously like some preaching against the theatre a generation ago.

Minstrelsy was, in short, looked on by the religiously minded of the 13th century precisely as the strictest sects, in England and America, used to look on the theatre and the circus. For the most part, the church inveighed against all minstrels without distinction. It declared them to be outcasts upon earth and from heaven; that it was a disgrace to eat at the same table with them, and that to give money to them was a sinful waste. Under the prevailing conception of the future life, many felt and said that not even a dead minstrel could be a good minstrel. To the 13th, as to the 19th, century Puritans, the theatre was the widest of all the many gates to Hell.

On the other hand, however, there were, as always, some skilled to see the good in evil and to discern. These took much the same position that St. Ambrose and St. Francis had taken before them, and among those broad-minded critics was Varagine's friend, the greatest man of the century in matters of doctrine, St. Thomas of Aquinas. "Play", he says, "is necessary to human society. Minstrelsy, being intended for human solace, is not in itself unlawful if exercised suitably and in moderation, and those who attend such performances do well to

reward the minstrels." He thinks, however, that St. Augustine is quite right in saying that to give to minstrels who perform unsuitable plays is in fact a huge sin. Much of the discussion of the time hinged on this matter of paying the piper. It was not so bad to attend as to pay for the entertainment.

Other men of note and of the time who could make distinction between minstrels and Minstrels, were Pope Alexander and Thomas of Cabham. According to the latter, minstrels could be distinguished into three classes; first, those who contort their bodies in all sorts of undignified and unworthy ways; second, those who have no settled occupation, but wander from court to court and speak ill of the absent to please others. "Both of these classes", says Thomas, "are damnable and are of those with whom the apostle forbids us to eat." There is the third class, however, of those who have musical instruments for the delight of man, and there are two kinds of these. Some frequent public houses and sing there divers songs (cantilene) to stir evil passions, and these are just as damnable as the others. But there are others who are called jongleurs (joculatores) who sing the deeds of princes and lives of saints, and solace men in sorrow or in trouble, without the undignified performances of acrobats, ventriloquists, jugglers and the like. "These," as Pope Alexander says, "are a solace to men and may even practice their art for money, if they have no other means of livelihood, and yet save their souls."

On the whole, the popular entertainment of the time deserved the worst that could be said of it, and no doubt Varagine shared the common knowledge and the horror

of his fellow churchmen over the fact. It was characteristic of him, however, not to rail but to do something. Denunciation was not his method of social reform. His was one of those practical imaginations which are aroused indeed by the desperateness of a situation, but not impressed by its hopeless features. Other types of prophetic imagination are inspired by the gloomy aspects of human folly to impassioned rebuke, pointing out the inevitable and appealing to men to reform themselves. His imagination was of the constructive type, which not only sees that things will happen if other things do not happen, but is perpetually feeling around the subject to find how things can be made to happen or not to happen. He was of those who are vividly aware of the fact that the only way to evict evil spirits is to get a good tenant spirit. His invariable method of defense against evil is the counter-attack, and his way of winning individuals is by substituting counter-attractions or counter-ideals—whether in matters of heresy, morals or political and social ethics; heretical preaching not by killing heretical preachers but by sound preaching; immoral tales not by book-burnings but by moral tales; bad government not by revolution but by constructive political ethics. His notion, in this case, was obviously to substitute for the fascinations of the secular minstrelsy a counter-minstrelsy.

The idea of whipping the Devil with his own tail, in the matter of popular song at least, was not original with Varagine by any means. Again and again the same method for the same end had been attempted in the very surroundings in which Varagine himself worked and in

the very city where he tried his experiment, and it is in the light of these attempts, with which Varagine must have been familiar, that the meaning of his effort best appears.

It was in this very city of Milan, *e. g.*, that St. Ambrose laid the foundation of congregational church singing by taking popular airs, "adapting them to the octave", setting them to sacred words of his own composition, and having them sung in the church, with the purpose, it is said, "of distracting the minds of the people from their madness after the pagan spectacles." "The bishop," says the historian of Milan, Romussi, "a profound knower of human nature, understood that art is an element of social life, and wished to satisfy the needs of popular fantasy, as a method of reforming morals."

It will be remembered in this connection that Ambrose had a hand in "reforming the morals" of no less a person than the great St. Augustine, and this music of his seems to have had no little share in the achievement. St. Augustine was still unreformed and unregenerated when, shortly before his conversion, this popular music was first introduced into the church at Milan on that picturesque occasion when, the whole city in a tumult, the followers of St. Ambrose, Monica among them, watched day and night in the church to guard their bishop from the soldiers of the emperor, while St. Ambrose, it is said, to relieve the tedium of the watching, introduced the songs. It was these, therefore, to which Augustine refers when he says: "How greatly did I weep at Thy hymns and canticles, deeply moved by the voices of Thy

sweet-speaking church! The voices flowed into mine ears and the truth was poured into my heart."

All this use of popular tunes was shocking to the conventionally religious of St. Ambrose's time, and he was even accused of leading the people astray thereby, just as Varagine was accused, on account of this similar and equally well-meant effort to keep people from being led astray.

It is not necessary to suppose that Varagine got his notion of popular sacred songs as antidote to popular secular minstrelsy, directly or wholly from Ambrose. Living in the same city, thoroughly familiar with the works of Ambrose, and still more thoroughly with those of Augustine, the fact of Ambrose's experiment was, beyond a doubt, well known to him. The idea, however, was not unique to Ambrose; it belongs to all ages. Everywhere and always in the Christian Church the popular song adapted to religious use has been one of the most powerful devices for religious revival, and, for that matter, the method of substituting good songs for bad, as a way of reforming national morals, is much older than the Christian Church.

It was Fletcher of Saltoun, the maker of a very famous phrase, who says, "We find that most of the ancient legislators thought they could not well reform the manners of any city without the help of lyric and sometimes of dramatic poetry", and it is in this connection that he goes on to say that "if a man were permitted to make the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." It was in like spirit that Thomas, the first Archbishop of York after the conquest, according to the

English chronicler, [William of Malmsbury], adapted any secular tune which pleased him to sacred use. It is quite the same spirit, too, which underlies the songs of the modern revivalists, and especially of the Salvation Army, many of these songs being thinly adapted from music-hall and light opera. Varagine had himself already had much experience in this matter of adapting popular song to religious use, in the time of the Flagellants, and in his patronage of the Laudesi confraternities, as counter to the cantilene of the taverns.

Nor was it the element of lyric song alone that had precedent. It is a matter of record that some of the professional minstrels even, were in the habit of including in their repertory edifying religious matter, such as the lives of the saints. No doubt many of these carried this line of entertainment in their repertories simply as a professional matter in order to be able to suit all tastes, but some undoubtedly told these tales with personal conviction and with an eye to spiritual results. It was in this very neighborhood of Milan, in fact, and not long before St. Francis, that the man who was afterwards to be the founder of the Humiliant monks was converted by the story of St. Alexis, as related by such a minstrel.

In this line, too, Varagine had not only precedent but experience — no one greater experience or equal sources, for his *Golden Legend* was counter-minstrelsy in the leading element of recitation. It is true, of course, that the composition of sacred songs or tales in popular style, or even the use of those for edification in the churches, is not quite the same thing as their performance as a matter of acknowledged entertainment under the name

of minstrelsy. Even dramatic representations were common in the churches as well as lyric song and narrative—not to mention all the matters connected with the pranks of the Abbot of Misrule, but these were not minstrelsy. There was, however, no lack of precedent, for name and nature alike. It was St. Francis himself who took up this idea just before Varagine was born, mastered its various details, and applied it. Having been himself something of a troubadour in his youth, he understood the spirit of the minstrel and the craving of the human mind for the entertaining. Like St. Ambrose, he saw that there might be wholesome amusement as well as vicious amusement, and to replace the latter by the former he himself not only wrote and sang popular songs in the vernacular, but organized his minstrels, trained them in their songs and sent them out to sing these throughout Umbria and the Marches, wandering from place to place, just as the *trouveres* wrote their songs and trained their *jongleurs* to recite or sing their productions everywhere. It was to him doubtless and to his minstrels that Varagine directly owed his idea. St. Francis had been struck by the hold which popular minstrelsy had on the common people, just as St. Dominic had been struck by the hold upon them of the vernacular preaching. As St. Dominic's way was to set preachers against preachers, so St. Francis' way was to set minstrel against minstrel. These singers of St. Francis were known as the minstrels of the Lord — the same word (*giullari* or *joculatores*) being used as is used by Galvanus della Flamma for the minstrels of Varagine.

St. Francis' own attempt was not so much an organized movement as an idea and method, but as such it, from his time on, pervaded the century pretty fully, taking, on the one hand, the line of monologue, dialogue and dramatic representations of gospel history in the churches, and on the other hand of lyrical song in the streets as well as in the churches, and here and there other features of minstrelsy.

It is a curious fact that, following the one line through the mystery plays, and another line through the dance songs of these so-called "laude", St. Francis became, it is alleged, the historical originator of the modern drama and cantata, on the one hand, and of the ballad and ballet on the other.

Just this time, when Varagine was organizing his company, was the time when Jacopone da Todi, the type and flower of these sanctified Franciscan minstrels, was writing his popular hymns and going about the country as "Minstrel of the Lord." He, indeed, was carrying it to its utmost extreme and calling himself "fool for Christ's sake"—no doubt mingling the idea of madness and idiocy with that of folly, as in the history of court fools in general, but calling himself and meaning rather God's buffoon, than God's madman—a humble entertainer of the humble, for Christ's sake and for their salvation, the logical extreme of being all things to all men.

Milan was the home of the Humiliant monks, and it is precisely this date, too, 1281, which marks the literary activity of Bonvesin, the Humiliant, who was then writing in this same Milan, and in the vernacular, poems on

roses and violets and such like themes. It was only a year or two later that Varagine himself was the Pope's intermediary between these Humiliant monks of Milan, Como, and Brescia, and their respective archbishop and bishops. He was, therefore, not only in the very city where this kind of thing was being done by the monks, but was certainly in touch with these monks and with Bonvesin himself.

To the fact of the precedents of sacred minstrelsy must be added also the fact that Varagine had been brought up and was now living in the very atmosphere of secular minstrelsy, for it was precisely in Genoa at this time that minstrelsy of the highest type was having its last great revival before dying altogether, and he applied this method just after his return to Milan from Genoa, where he had spent the interim years between his two Provincialates. The last home of the troubadours was Genoa. The great troubadours, whether writing in Provençal or in Italian, were not only Varagine's contemporaries, but in large part his fellow townsmen; Cigala and Calvo, Grimaldi, Grillo, Gattilusio, Scotti and the two Dorias. Here, too, was being written likewise under the Provençal lyric influence, that great collection of Italian didactic and religious poetry of the *Anonimo Genoese*.

Altogether there was nothing very original in the idea itself or in any of its aspects; what was original, however, was the elaborate and painstaking thoroughness with which the idea was carried out. The troupe with its uniform, and organized for all sorts of gymnastic feats and dancing, as well as for recitation and music, was a

much more elaborate matter than the more spontaneous and less finished work of the Franciscan Minstrels of the Lord, or the unorganized work of Bonvesin da Riva, or Jacopone da Todi. This spirit was highly characteristic of Varagine himself and of his Order.

Remembering this spirit of thoroughness, it is not surprising to find that Varagine's troupe included no less than twenty-four members dressed to the part and that its repertory ran pretty much the whole gamut of the minstrel art. Performers were called, so the chronicler says, *joculatores*, *springatores*, and *ballantes* — players, acrobats and dancers, and in a general way these three terms may be said to correspond respectively to what would be known in modern times as the legitimate drama, the circus, and musical comedy.

The *joculatores* were the minstrels proper, the respectable recognized entertainers, who sang or recited lyric poems, popular romances, historical poems, and even lives of the saints. Commonly they accompanied these with instrumental music and they often danced to their songs. Strictly speaking and by derivation they were "players," the name coming from *joca* and meaning perhaps a merry-maker and in a lower sense a joker or jester, and in a better sense an "entertainer". Possibly the best translation of *jongleur* in English is *gleeman*. The word is often used as a synonym of *histrion*, who according to Skeat is "one who makes others laugh". The word is also used as a synonym of play (*ludes* and French *jeu*). The *joculator* was, in short, a player, actor, or entertainer.

The springatores of Varagine's troupe, more commonly known as saltatores, were the acrobats or tumblers, the saltimbanques and mountebanks. These acrobats belonged among, and here correspond to, the lower order of minstrels referred to in the famous definition of the troubadour Riquier, which he tried to get Alfonso X, of Castile to make into law; the famous distinction between the composers, the jongleurs "who play upon instruments and recite stories composed by others", and the bufos who are not properly minstrels at all but exercise lower forms of entertainments for the common people. These buffi or buffoons included all the lowest kinds of entertainers, acrobats, jugglers, jesters, clowns, ventriloquists, tom foolers of all sorts.

The ballini were the dancers, and their dancing ranged from an accompaniment to the songs of the troubadours down to comic dancing or rhythmic buffoonery. The dancing was particularly a feature of all the religious minstrelsy of the time, and indeed of emotional religious excitement in all times, from King David to the Dervishes. The dancing songs, from which on the one hand the modern ballad was evolved and on the other the modern ballet, were, as has been noted, characteristic of the Alleluia, Flagellant and like movements of the century as well as of St. Francis' minstrels.

The idea of a minstrel troupe had been in the palmy days of the troubadours, a company of reciter-musicians, but at this time it meant all sorts of specialists in entertaining, to suit all tastes.

The number of Varagine's minstrels suggests a large repertory with many specialties. In view of the minstrel

customs of the day and of the terms here given, it is not hard to imagine what this repertory comprised. To begin with, it certainly included the "deeds of princes and lives of saints". The author of the *Golden Legend* and of the *Chronicle of Genoa* would make sure of that. It is more than likely also that it included dialogues after the order of the *English Moralities*, and the mystery plays which, begun by St. Francis, had spread rapidly. It was in Varagine's lifetime that Ruteboeuf composed his *St. Elizabeth*, and above all, most famous of mystery plays, his *Theophile*.

Again it undoubtedly included some of the innumerable hymns to the Virgin and religious dance songs of the *Flagellants* and the *Genoese societies*, for the author of the *Mariale* and the historian of the *Flagellants* would not lose sight of either of these classes of entertainments affected by the professional minstrels. It should be remembered that it was precisely in Varagine's lifetime that the poetry of troubadours was transformed from the worship of woman to the worship of the Virgin, and songs to the Virgin became their typical poetry, lyric as well as dramatic. It is hardly a stretching of the evidence to say that the great emphasis on the adoration of the Virgin Mary which became one of the characteristics of the Dominicans during the century was another actual if not a conscious application of the method of fighting fire with fire, also applied to preaching, Bible translation and minstrelsy. In spite of its dangers and its disasters the minstrel cult of the pure and passionate adoration of woman often reached a high pitch of poetic truthfulness. Dante's was not the only Beatrice.

Thanks largely to the Dominicans of this time, this ecstatic spiritual admiration was transferred to Her, who endowed with every grace which poetic imagination had ever found in womanhood, added the supreme glory of Motherhood of the Incarnate God.

Again the repertory of this company was clearly not confined to recital of the deeds of heroes and the lives of saints, to hymns, mysteries, and instrumental music, for it included at least acrobatic feats and dancing songs. It probably included, therefore, every variety of popular entertainment as then known, pantomime, jugglery, ventriloquism and the rest. The acrobatic features, described as jumping or contortion, combined the modern gymnastic exhibition with clownish elements which made of it something very like the modern circus.

There are records of at least two performances by these minstrels, one for the benefit of the Dominican nuns of Milan, the other before the Master-General of the Order, John of Vercelli. The serenading of the nuns was made the occasion of scandalous comment by the evil-minded, and, according to gossip Galvanus della Flamma, gave rise to the saying, "he who wishes slyly to live a naughty life, let him go to St. Eustorgius"—which only shows that human nature was the same then as now and ever ready to put an ill-construction on innocent action. Of course, there was notorious immorality in the century at many times and places among secular clergy and even in the monasteries, but on the whole the more this fact is studied, the more general the keeping of vows appears to have been—and the less justified the sweeping generalizations as to monkish immorality

are found to be. At all events, in this case, as the historian who quotes the remark of Galvanus well points out, it was doubtless sheer slander, because, as he says, brother Jacobus was a man of great holiness, prudence and piety, and, moreover, it was done while John of Vercelli, a most scrupulous disciplinarian, was Master-General, and he, in fact, knew all about the matter, for when visiting at Milan he asked to see these very performers. In point of fact, in every matter of morals, Varagine is always to be found with the reforming party: his instructions to young preachers are emphatic on the subject, and the great effort of his life, the Golden Legend, was aimed to counteract the immorality of secular literature. This very matter was undertaken in the interest of good morals. No one can read of his counsel for the reformation of morals or read his sermons and question his own soundness. No doubt this goliardic jibe was the wit of some of these very roistering jesters, as an offset to whose influence this troupe was instituted. In any event, Varagine was slandered in good company, for St. Ambrose and St. Francis, both like Varagine, acting expressly for the reformation of popular morals and to save men from the immorality of the secular minstrelsy, were charged therefore with subverting public morals thereby.

Altogether, this attempt of Varagine is an interesting sidelight on religious minstrelsy, as well as another evidence of his versatile and indefatigable effort to capture the popular mind. It is at the same time an illuminating commentary on the vast output of books for the people to which Varagine contributed so largely and the best key to the motive of his own literary production.

MATERIALS FOR
A LIFE OF JACOPO DA VARAGINE

II LATIN WRITINGS

MATERIALS FOR A LIFE OF JACOPO DA VARAGINE

- I. A Maker of the Italian Language
- II. Latin Writings
- III. Public Activities
- IV. Index to Parts I, II and III.

Materials for a Life of Jacopo da Varagine

by
ERNEST CUSHING RICHARDSON

II. LATIN WRITINGS



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PREFACE

This second group of reprints and studies on Jacopo da Varagine is roughly arranged to include his Latin writings. With these may be grouped also the study of the Golden Legend given in the first group because of the influence of the Ducento translation on the popular language.

ERNEST CUSHING RICHARDSON

Washington, D. C.

November 15, 1934

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CHAPTER I

*Jacobus De Voragine and The Golden Legend.**

Reprinted from the Princeton Theological Review, Vol. 1, 1903

THE publication of two new French translations of the Golden Legend within the year reminds of the fact that there have also been at least two reprints of Caxton's English translation of this work within a few years and shows that the famous book is far from dead. Indeed, it may be said to be coming to life again. One of the most popular, if not the most popular book of the Middle Ages, extant in more than half a thousand manuscripts and more than one hundred and fifty editions and translations made during the first century of printing, it seemed suddenly, after three centuries of unparalleled popularity, in the Reformation times, to have died a sudden death at the hands of Wicelius, Cano, Vives, Launoi and other critics. They denied the work historical merit, style, devotional value or any merit

*La Légende Dorée de Jacques de Voragine, nouvellement traduite en français, avec introduction, notices, notes et recherches sur les sources, par L'Abbé J.-B. M. Roze, Chanoine honoraire de la cathédrale d'Amiens. Paris: Rouveyre, 1902, 3v., 8vo.

Le Bienheureux Jacques de Voragine. La Légende Dorée, traduite du Latin d'après les plus anciens manuscrits, avec une Introduction, des Notes, et un Index alphabétique, par Teodor de Wyzewa. Paris: Perrin, 1902, p. XVIII, 748, 8vo.

whatever. They scoffed at the title "Golden," which the common consent of thousands of readers had added to the original title, and they reviled the author as a man with "mouth of iron and heart of lead." The Roman Catholics allowed themselves too readily to fear and become ashamed of the work, and the joint result of Reformed vehemence and Catholic timorousness was, if not to kill, at least to bury alive the work. For three centuries only a slight movement now and then showed that there was any life left. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a slight spasm manifested in the edition of Graesse, the translation by Brunet and some few other signs. For the last ten years there have been signs of something like a real revival, which seems now likely to restore the book, not to its old popularity, for times have changed, but to a certain well-deserved fame on account of its real merits and its extraordinary influence on the history of culture.

It is a remarkable thing how little is known about the author of this work, and almost more remarkable how little of what is known is generally known.

Voragine (or Varagine, as he always and correctly writes himself), besides being the writer of the Golden Legend, was one of the most attractive preachers of his time, and his sermons, for centuries after his death, were almost as popular as the Legend, if one may judge from the number of existing manuscripts and the fact that they too became known as "Golden." In an age celebrated for its scholastic learning (he was born about the same year as Thomas Aquinas), he was so distinguished for his erudition that he was known as "the theologian"

par excellence—"Jacobus the theologian." He was, moreover, distinguished as an administrator, receiving unprecedented honors for many years among the Dominicans of his own province and being trusted with several special missions by the Pope before he became Archbishop of Genoa. In this latter office his executive career was most creditable. Above all, he was so famous for his holiness, his self-abnegation and his kindness to the poor (and that in a century which produced Saint Francis, Saint Dominic and Saint Louis) that he was, so to speak, elected Saint by popular acclamation and began almost immediately after his death to be worshiped, as he is in Genoa to-day, as "the peacemaker."

In spite of all these claims to distinction there is almost no literature about the man. The encyclopædias and biographical dictionaries mention him, there is a little in general and local Church histories, a little more in the histories of the Dominicans, there are a few monographs on the Golden Legend, some rather meagre introductions and three brief lives in Italian by Anfossi (1816), Spottorno (1823) and Pelazza (1867). The three Italian monographs, together with the scholarly account in Quetif-Echard's *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, practically exhaust the literature, and of these all three of the lives are so little known that even so much as a trace of them is seldom found in the scanty modern literature. They are, in fact, so rare that the British Museum has only Anfossi and the Bodleian not one. Quetif-Echard is, therefore, the chief and generally the only source of modern accounts of Voragine, and even this is somewhat rare and expensive.

In view of the dearth of literature upon the Golden Legend and its author, the introductions to these translations of Roze and Wyzewa take on a certain importance, although neither is very pretentious. That of Roze is confined to a rather successful vindication of the Golden Legend, while that of Wyzewa treats not only the work itself, but tells "the little that I know" about the author.

The little that Wyzewa knows is little indeed. There is at best not much known of the events of Voragine's life, and much of this little Wyzewa seems to have miraculously escaped knowing. In spite of this, however, Wyzewa's slight narrative is welcome as furnishing a source to which one who wishes a little general idea of who Voragine was can be referred. It has the main well-known facts, and is written with sympathy, although the sympathy leads rather to rhetoric than to research. Yet there is some pretention to research as well. The author at least visited Varazze, and he makes much of a certain manuscript of Voragine's Chronicle of Genoa which he consulted at the municipal library in Genoa, but in general the things that he saw serve rather to emphasize what he has missed than to contribute anything to the subject.

Voragine was born at Varazze about 1228, entered the Dominican Convent at Genoa in 1244, was made head of the Dominicans of Lombardy in 1267, became archbishop in 1292, and died in 1298. He wrote the Golden Legend, a History of Genoa, various sermons and sundry other works.

All this Wyzewa knows and not very much more. At Varazze he saw the statue of Voragine on the City Hall, but he seems not to have seen the paintings of Voragine in the Dominican Church, in the Cathedral, in the Municipio and at Casanuova. He notes the artisans building fishing-boats, "like those which the father of the author of the *Golden Legend* perhaps fashioned," but if he had seen the manuscript chronicle of Accenelli in the Dominican Convent there, or one of several works by the accomplished local historian, the Avv. G. B. Fazio, or had conversed even with some of the natives, he would have learned that Voragine's father was not a shipbuilder, but a farmer, and Voragine was born not in the shore village, but three or four miles back on the hills in the village of Casanuova.

At Genoa Wyzewa studied in the Beriana Library, but he seems not to have found any one of the three lives of Voragine, copies of all of which are to be found in one or another of the Genoese libraries, nor did he find the interesting material in the public (not the Archiepiscopal) archives. He sought traces of Voragine, and came to the conclusion that "one may seek in vain in all the city of Genoa the least trace of his memory." He knows that his body had been buried in the Convent Church, rather than the Cathedral; "but the Church of Saint Dominic was demolished some years ago, and among the relics which are preserved at the Academy of Fine Arts and at the White Palace, I have vainly sought a vestige of the sepulture of Voragine."

But the trouble is not with the relics. If he had only looked in the Church of Santa Maria di Castello, the

present Church of the Dominicans, he would have found the very bones of the Saint, as well as an effigy, a statue and a painting of him. He would doubtless have received, also, from some of the brethren various little tracts, published on the occasion of the "translation of his holy relics" in 1885, or of the sixth centenary of his death in 1898. Both of these tracts tell of the transfer of the relics in 1798, when the other church was destroyed, to this church, where they were first placed "under the altar of Saint Paul," and removed again in 1885 to the altar of "S. Rosa da Lima" in the same church.

It is true that the Genoese fall far short of giving Voragine the public honor which is his due from them. Even at the Cathedral his altar was taken down "during some necessary repairs," as it is said, some years ago, and has never been replaced. His portrait is stored away in some lumber room, and is only to be seen with great difficulty, if at all. It seems almost as if they were in some way ashamed of the man. It is true also, curiously enough, that although there are in various libraries in Genoa at least thirteen manuscripts of Voragine's history of Genoa, there does not appear to be in any of the great libraries a single manuscript of the Golden Legend, or of those other popular works, manuscripts of which are scattered throughout the rest of Europe by the thousand. On the other hand, however, he is worshiped by the people at the Church of Santa Maria, and is "specially invoked in the case of private or domestic quarrels."

The origin of this worship is the picturesque and admirable act of Voragine in uniting Guelfs and Ghibellines in 1295, an account of which Wyzewa quotes

from a "magnificent and venerable" manuscript of Voragine's own chronicle in the Municipal Library of Genoa. This is a favorite subject of several of the portraits of Voragine, in which he is represented as throwing himself between the combatants. Voragine is also remembered in Genoa for his self-denying benevolence which, according to Wyzewa, he carried to the end, prohibiting an expensive funeral in order that what it would cost might be given to the poor.

But whatever may be said of Voragine's administrative ability, of his benevolence, his learning or his other literary work, it is still true that it is the Golden Legend which is his chief title to fame.

This work consists of 182, more or less, short chapters on all the saints and festivals in the Church calendar, according to the Dominican use, beginning with the Advent and ending with the Dedication of Churches. There is a prologue to the whole and the individual chapters, so far as they relate to the saints, have each its own prologue in the form of a short etymology of the saint's name. Finally, a short history of Lombardy is added to the chapter on Pelagius, and this misplaced bit of rather mediocre history often gives title to the whole work as the *Historia Lombardica*.

The contents of the various codices and editions of the work vary greatly. The Venetian Codex Lat. 354 contains but seventy-four chapters, and Vatican Lat. 1224 is of similar type, but these are undoubtedly abridgments. The Milan Codex Ambrosianus A E XII, 27, omits eighty-four of the original chapters, but adds nine others. A very common and early type (*e.g.*, Brit. Mus. add.

14,089, Munich, 9506^a) omits from the ordinary list Sophia, Timotheus, Fabrianus, Apollonia, Bonifacius and Elisabeth. The Italian translation (cf. Florence, Riccardianus, 1254) was founded on something like this text. On the other hand, many manuscripts and most editions add more or less—Codex A E XIV, of the Brera Library in Milan, adds twenty-four; the Ed. Venice, 1482, adds twenty-six; that of 1484 adds thirty-five; that of Basil, 1490, adds thirty-nine; that of Venice, 1516, adds nine, etc., etc.

The text of the Golden Legend as it stands in Graesse's edition probably represents nearly the state of the case, the first 182 chapters printed in a large type representing the text as it stood in the days of Voragine, the additional chapters in fine print representing additions by other hands. It is possible that criticism will finally subtract some, but is not likely to add any to the 182. Wyzewa says that the legends of Saint Francis and Saint Elisabeth are not found in the MSS., but although Elisabeth is omitted from a large fraction of the, say, two hundred manuscripts examined, Saint Francis is in all save the very shortest forms. The final decision as to the real contents of the work as published by Voragine waits on a much more thorough study of the manuscripts than has ever yet been made, but it will not probably vary far from the 182 chapters.

The chapters themselves are, for the most part, chains of miracles, and give to the whole work the aspect of a collection of anecdotes, rather than of systematic biography. The work is not, in fact, a "Lives of the Saints," as it is described in some manuscripts, but rather, as it is usually called, "Readings on the Saints" (for *Legenda*,

of course, meant not "Legends," but "Readings"), and since it includes other festivals than strict saint days, a more exact title still would be "Readings on the Church Festivals" or "Daily Readings for the Christian Year."

The whole work is preceded by a prologue, giving the real plan of work. It treats of the divisions of the Church year. All human history, he says, is divided into four periods—the times of Deviation, Renovation, Reconciliation and Peregrination. The time of Deviation=Adam to Moses=Septuagesima to Easter; the time of Renovation=Moses to Christ=Advent to Christmas; the time of Reconciliation, "when through Christ we were reconciled with God"—time of Christ=Easter to Whitsunday, and the time of our Pilgrimage=our present life=Whitsunday to Advent.

"It is according to this division of the four parts of the ecclesiastical year," he says, "that we proceed to the study of the various festivals, beginning with Advent, which opens the period of Renovation."

The first two chapters are on the Advent and on Saint Andrew. An analysis of these chapters gives an excellent idea of the scope of the work and the variety of treatment.

Under Advent he treats, first, four kinds of Advents of our Lord—in the flesh, in the spirit, in death and in the Judgment. Then in detail he treats, first, of His coming in the flesh, the occasion and motives, of which seven are given, then of the coming for judgment. Under this latter head he treats of (1) the circumstances which precede the Judgment: The signs (fifteen sub-divisions), Antichrist (four subdivisions) and the Great Conflagra-

tion; (2) The circumstances which accompany the Judgment: The Judge, the accusers (three subdivisions), the witnesses (three subdivisions) and the sentence (three subdivisions).

The chapter on Saint Andrew runs: Calling of Saint Andrew; he delivers Saint Matthew; he miraculously saves a young man from a house on fire; he delivers a woman; by his prayers he obtains the deliverance of an old man; drives out seven demons; brings life to forty sailors; goes to Achaia; is questioned by Egeus, his defense, punishment, burial; bishop preserved from temptation by him; miraculous punishment of a prefect.

Each of these chapters is a fair type of its class. In neither case is the aim historical or biographical, as it is often mistakenly supposed, on account of the frequent description of the work as "Lives of the Saints." The aim is devotional, not historical or critical, and what is more, it is intended chiefly for popular devotion. It is, in short, an artistic, rather than a scientific product and is to be judged as such.

The etymologies which precede the chapters on the saints are also to be judged in the same way. They are generally fantastic to the last degree, so much so that Wyzewa omits them altogether from his translation—*e.g.*, the two which Wyzewa quotes as provoking a smile are Agatha, from *Agios*=sacred, and *Theos* God, *i.e.*, God's saint, or else from *Ago*=speaking, and *Thau*=perfection=the perfect speaker; and Antony, from *Ana*=above, and *tenens*=holding—which is at least mixed etymology!

These are fair samples, but it must be remembered that the purpose of the derivation is not at all a critical or historical one. The writer seeks simply to discover some allegorical or even punning turn which may express the character of the saint. This allegorical way of interpreting words was quite in accord with the spirit of the time (and of a tendency in all times), as well as with Voragine's own practice in a large class of his sermons, which are, if possible, more fantastically allegorical than even the etymologies themselves. The purpose is, therefore, descriptive rather than critical, and solemn attempts to discuss the historicity of the anecdotes of the saints, or their scientific value, seems to argue a certain lack of critical ability, not to say of humor, on the part of the critic himself.

The work was written after, and not immediately after, 1249. In the *Historia Lombardica* Voragine ends the account with the deposition and death of Frederick II (1250), and says that at the time of writing the throne is "still vacant," which seems to indicate that some time has elapsed since it was vacated. On the other hand, it was not written later than 1265, for there is extant a manuscript said to be written in this year. Wyzewa puts the date of composition at 1255, on the ground that the election of Pope Alexander IV is not mentioned, but this argument from silence is always inconclusive and is especially so in the case of Voragine, who omits so much. Still, the very large number of thirteenth-century manuscripts and their wide distribution favor an early date, and if, as there is some reason to think, Voragine had already undertaken his great cycle

of sermons as early as 1259, it is fair to suppose that he had already finished this. It may be safe to say, therefore, at least that it is probably the first of the writings of Voragine, and that it was probably first published somewhere about 1255 to 1258.

It is impossible to say at present with certainty whether the work was finished at the time when it was first published or, as there is some reason to believe, that it was revised and added to more than once during the forty years between its first publication and his death. It is certain only that the many additions outside Graesse's corpus of 182 are by other and, for the most part, later hands. These 182 chapters, of which Elisabeth and the five other omissions of the B. M. 14,089 type are under special suspicion, form the work with which we have to do when we speak of Voragine's Golden Legend.

The significant facts in the life-history of the Golden Legend are its immediate rise into popularity, the long maintenance of this popularity, its immediate and total eclipse in Reformation times and the modest revival of popularity in the nineteenth century.

Its sudden popularity is evidenced by the large number of thirteenth-century manuscripts. The examination of some two hundred manuscripts of the work shows between thirty and forty which may be assigned to Voragine's lifetime. There are no less than three dated manuscripts of it at Munich alone, and one of these as early as 1282. An examination of various catalogues of manuscripts not personally seen shows the same proportion of early copies, and altogether it is quite within bounds to say that there are more than one hundred

manuscripts extant which date from the thirteenth century, *i.e.*, from Voragine's lifetime. These manuscripts were scattered all over France and Germany as well as Italy, and the dated ones indicate that the work had achieved this general international popularity before 1282, and probably before 1265. The sudden and great world popularity which the work thus achieved within a few years is comparable in our own days to the success of such works as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Ben Hur*.

But more remarkable still than the immediate success is the lasting popularity of the work. For comparison with this one must turn to *Robinson Crusoe* and the *Pilgrim's Progress*; indeed the *Pilgrim's Progress* furnishes, in more respects than one, the best analogy with this work. That a book after two hundred years of undiminished popularity, shown by more than half a thousand existing manuscripts, should, on the invention of printing, and for more than fifty years after, have averaged two editions each year, is much more significant than the circulation of one hundred thousand copies of a new novel in a year nowadays.

Some of the reasons for this popularity and its continuance lie near at hand. Something is to be said for the suitability of the theme to the spirit of the time. It often happens that a book by touching precisely the theme which is uppermost in men's minds, gets a large hearing chiefly from this fact. This was true of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

It is true also of the *Golden Legend* that it was fitted to its time, the time of the rise of monastic orders and widespread popular worship of the saints, and that this

state of things continued during the whole time of the book's popularity. It doubtless therefore owed much to its theme, but this is not the whole matter. There were, as Roze remarks, many other Lives of the Saints, but they were not popular as that of Voragine was, although some of them had modest success. Moreover, mere time-liness is not enough to account for either the depth or the length of its popularity. If it were a question of sudden and short popularity it might be, but when a book is popular for three hundred years, the reason must lie in some kind of real excellence—it is popular because it deserves to be on some ground.

Roze finds the whole secret of the popularity of the Golden Legend in one single quality—its naiveté, which is essentially a quality of style. The one thing that other Lives of the Saints lack, he says, is just this naturalness.

There is doubtless more or less truth in this. This work is, in fact, marked by that sincerity, naturalness and freedom from pose which always charms in literature or in life. This ingenuousness of the author is, moreover, the ingenuousness of a man of learning, of vivid and often poetic imagination, of deep sympathy with both man and brute, a hero worshiper in a modern sense and a man of unflagging enthusiasm for both the human and the superhuman. The simple, unaffected, sincere discourse of a man of this sort is naturally interesting, however much it may be hampered by the material which he is using and the need of incorporating, at times, the very words of the writers from whom he quotes. Whether or not this be the sole secret of the popularity of the Golden Legend, it is certain that it forms a large

element in the case, and it may perhaps contain the heart if not the sum of the matter.

If the matter be looked at from the point of view of the question why Voragine succeeded when other hagiographers failed, it may be said that it was because he knew his subject better, he knew his audience better, and he knew his business better.

The Abbé Roze has analyzed the sources used by Voragine and finds that he refers to no less than one hundred and thirty writers. This is not surprising in the man who, in later days, was said to be so familiar with the works of Augustine that he could repeat them all by heart, who showed a very ready quoting familiarity with a wide range of the Latin classical writers, and whose familiarity with Scripture is so intimate that his discourses fairly rain proof-texts. He was, whatever else may be said of him, therefore, a man thoroughly familiar with his sources.

Farther than this, he is not only familiar with but faithful to these sources. The major part of Voragine's tales are, as so unimpeachable a critic as Bollandus declares, in full accord with the sources. Farther still, he uses his sources, in a way, critically. He frequently introduces his stories by "It is said," or in some other way disclaims any responsibility for the truthfulness of the account. It may be said, therefore, that the author's erudition is extensive, faithful and, for the time, not uncritical. It may be added that this knowledge is at his very finger tips. As in all his works, he is so saturated with his material that the apposite thing comes forth spontaneously at the right moment.

Beyond his excellent mastery of material, another secret of the popularity of the book is to be found in the fact that Voragine knew his audience. He was, in the first place, a man in touch with all classes of people from the most scholarly to the most ignorant. This is a striking fact which the student of his works can hardly fail to notice. His books range from the most scholastic, barren and intricate in style, divided under headings and subheadings and sub-subheadings to a point where it is hardly possible to keep the logical order in one's mind by any effort of attention, down to the very plainest and simplest statement of the most simple truths. A single volume of his sermons will contain sermons in several different styles, from the most scholastic, through the most allegorical to the plainest sermon, full of illustration, touched with humor and its applications couched in the simplest and clearest terms. This is true also of the *Golden Legend*, where, however, the scholastic is at its least and the plain and simple at its greatest, precisely because it was intended for the people. The keynote of Voragine's life is indeed not learning, learned as he was, but service.

His sympathy with the common people is shown in his whole pastoral life, in many of his works, and especially in the fact that he was one of the very earliest to teach and use the vernacular. It is even said by Sixtus Senensis that he was the first to translate the Scriptures into Italian, and, although much disputed, this is hardly disproved. Whether he did this or not, it is certain that he was unusually in touch with the feeling of the common people, and this fact alone is almost enough to explain

the popularity of the Golden Legend. His popularity is because he was himself truly popular.

And then he knew his art. It must be confessed that his style has been weighed by competent critics and found wanting. Even such admirers as Ellis and Wyzewa and Bollandus confess some lack in this regard, and if by style is meant the simple question of Latinity, no doubt the charge is true. The Latin is more or less rude, though hardly more so than was natural at the time. It was the "honest Latin of the sacristy," as Wyzewa calls it, better suited for popular instruction perhaps than the Latin of that disciple of the elegant Erasmus who so fiercely presses the charge against it, but yet, beyond a question, more or less barbarous. Rude as it is and if it is, in Voragine's hands it is at least vigorous and effective.

It is true, also, that in the Golden Legend there are at points, and especially in the chapters on other topics than the saints, traces of the scholastic and allegorical style which appears also in some of his sermons and scholarly works, and it may be that it is to these that Ellis refers when he speaks of it as appearing "on a first reading as more or less rugged or obscure."

In trying to explain or apologize for these deficiencies of style, Roze rather overruns himself in his zeal to prove these all the fault of the authors from whom Voragine has compiled, and seems, in effect, to reduce the whole to a mere compilation. It is certain that Voragine did make large use of his sources, and it is possible, even, that he had a short earlier work of the same general character with his own, which he filled out. It is true, also, that in some places he reproduces the exact language

of his sources, while it happens very frequently that a whole passage is at least condensed from a single source. A mere compilation, however, it is not, and Wyzewa is right in insisting that the work as a whole bears the impress of a single personality. It may be added that there are few parts, including even the pure condensations from sources, which do not bear the impress of this personality.

But if there are certain defects of style, and whatever the reasons for them, there are enough compensating elements of art to take the curse away and help account for the popularity.

In the first place, even the compilation, where it is compilation, is done with excellent art. Mere translation may be made an art, but condensation is capable of a most admirable display of art. To take large crude masses and present them in a brief form, in such a way that they shall make a more vivid impression than in their lengthened form, is of the essence of literary art of the highest character, and this is what Voragine does continually. Farther than this, Voragine not only arranges his material into an artistic whole, following the Church year, and carrying out a purpose of providing certain suitable reading for each saint's day, but he constantly shapes his material so as to produce striking effects.

The simplicity and sincerity of his style have already been spoken of, and these surely are of the very essence of good style, as are also the flexibility and appropriateness in the use of words, the strong imagination and the poetic feeling which are characteristic of him. Add to these (what may have been unconscious art) the constant

appeal to those emotions which the history of literature has shown to unfailingly respond to every skillful touch—the love of the marvelous and of the unexpected, hero worship, the spirit of endurance, self-sacrifice, charity, forgiveness—and there is a combination of artistic excellences sufficient to account for more than a modest success.

The question naturally arises why a book with such admirable qualities should ever have suffered eclipse. It probably never would have done so if times had not changed so radically. The work of Voragine is the quintessence of pre-Reformation Catholicism. It breathes the spirit of Saint Francis and Saint Dominic, of devout worship of the saints and of the Mother of God, and of the ascetic devotion. On the other hand, it is full of demons and magic, temptation and rescue. The Reformation being essentially Protestant, the quintessence of Catholicism naturally called forth the quintessence of protest. The bitterness of attack was proportioned to the popularity of the book.

The centre of bitterness was undoubtedly the worship of the saints and of the Virgin and the miracles ascribed to them, but the points of attack ranged over the whole field. The attack on the historical value of the work is, as has been suggested, almost as far afield as an attack on a collection of pulpit illustrations for their lack of historical and critical value. The object being popular and devotional, the utmost that one can fairly ask is faithfulness to sources. As a matter of fact, the work contains very little indeed that is of direct historical value, and it contains much which Catholic and Protest-

ants alike agree to be without historical evidence. Whether this much includes all miracles or only some miracles, is where Catholics and Protestants diverge. Roze calls attention to the interesting fact, of which Protestants are generally ignorant, that the Roman Catholics recognize two classes of miracles which may be used—those which are counted as matters of fact, and those which, though not established by evidence, are profitable for edification, used as parables or illustrations are used. Still this is not the real point. The line of division between Protestants and Catholics lies precisely on the line of “true” ecclesiastical miracles, and the attack on Voragine’s historical and critical character resolves itself almost purely into a Protestant attack on his Catholic belief that the Virgin and the saints do work miracles. It is another case of the *Odium Theologicum*, and the charge of being uncritical or credulous is untrue.

No doubt Voragine was a naïve believer in ecclesiastical miracles and received multitudes of them as historical, but he was far from credulous in his attitude and rejected many—and perhaps after all it is no more of a sin to believe in too many miracles than to believe in too few, and no more uncritical. The book which accepts both Biblical and ecclesiastical miracles at least contains more historical fact than the one which rejects both. Still it is not surprising that a book which is a veritable anthology of miracles which Protestants generally believe to be untrue should, whether it is intended for history or not, be vigorously assailed.

And what is true of ecclesiastical miracles is true of the kindred matters of the worship of the saints and the Virgin. As represented in Voragine, there is much in this worship which is beautiful and to a certain degree inspiring to character, but in the eyes of the Reformers, and in fact, it is all the more dangerous on this ground. The Golden Legend and the Reformation could not exist side by side and the Legend went under.

It is a curious matter that the thing which took the place of the Golden Legend in the popular favor after the Reformation is perhaps the Faust legend. In the Golden Legend the Faust theme of a compact with Satan occurs at least three times, and in each case the sinner is saved through the intercession of the Virgin Mary. This climax to the constant teaching of saint-worship and Virgin-worship was, of course, peculiarly obnoxious to Protestants, and the Faust book of 1587 was, it is said, actually set up by them as a sort of counterblast to the Golden Legend. It was, so it is said, intended to show the awful consequences of selling one's self to the devil—Faust meets a dreadful end instead of being saved by the Virgin as were his counterparts in the Golden Legend. Goethe, of course, returned to the idea of salvation, and it must be confessed that it makes a more winsome tale than the grimmer if more salutary moral of the earlier Faust book.

It is possible that this constructive work, in substituting another wonder cycle for the old, was one of the causes of the decline of the Golden Legend. However that may be, it seems clear that the eclipse came because of Protestant attack and the lack of Catholic courage

to defend the work for what it was, rather than from any real lack of literary excellence.

In considering the reasons for the present revival of the work a preliminary condition at least is the passing of the polemic need. The battle has been fought and conditions have changed. Men are disposed to be juster and more discriminating. The Protestant victors especially, who have held the book in captivity for more than three centuries, can afford to be generous in the recognition of its moral and spiritual as well as of its literary excellences.

That the book was well calculated to promote the love of and reverence for Jesus Christ as well as the worship of the saints, and fitted to encourage charity, fortitude and purity of life, no one can justly deny. One of the most unfair of many unfair attacks on the book was that on its frequent reiteration of the theme of carnal temptation. It is true that the author deals more frequently and more frankly with incidents which ought not to be good form in the literature of to-day than is pleasant. It must be remembered, however, that this is true of all histories of the saints, and that Voragine's treatment is always (when it is his own treatment) with a direct moral aim, and tends to virtue. It must be remembered on the other hand, too, that the secular literature of the time was incredibly full of the same theme, treated from a most vicious point of view and with the most vicious tendency. When this fact is considered, the work is seen to be in fact a most powerful and praiseworthy antidote to the depraved tendencies of the time. It is a pleasure to note that some examination of the manuscripts shows

beyond peradventure that the particular incidents for which Voragine has been under imputation for grossness were certainly added after his time, notably the story of Gangolfus.

A more positive reason for the revival of interest in the work is the very simple fact that it is interesting. It must be confessed that the average reader to-day does not care to sit down and read it through in course, although Mr. Ellis, the editor of the Caxton translation, says that he has himself read the work through from beginning to end as many as six times with "unabated interest." For most readers it is better as a book to pick up and read sections of than as one to be read systematically. It is too much like reading a collection of *Ana*, and it was, in fact, written to be read in small sections. In spite, however, of this, and in spite of all qualifications as to style, it is interesting to-day, if not to "the general," at least to the very considerable number of those with taste and sympathy for mediæval things at their best. The very fact of these two translations and the enthusiastic admiration of at least one of the editors bears eloquent testimony to the fact of the intrinsic interest of the work.

Probably the chief reason for the interest in the *Golden Legend* to-day is, however, the historical—the light which it throws on mediæval life and on the many elements in modern art, literature and folklore of which it is the source. Roze calls it a "veritable manual of Iconography and Liturgic," and it was this fact which furnished the motive for his work. "It is," he says, "with the idea of being useful to artists and scholars that we

have devoted a large share of our life to the study of the Golden Legend." He refers to Ozanam's exposition of its influence on poetry, as well as to the fact which is beginning to be more realized than it once was, that it is the key to much of the best in painting, glass-painting, sculpture and the like. Probably Roze is not exaggerating much when he says that there is "not a single one of our religious and civil monuments which does not reproduce the tales of Jacobus de Voragine."

It is not to be supposed that the serious student of culture-history will care for translations when the Latin text is so accessible in the (1890) reprint of Graesse, but the many lay lovers of sacred art will welcome the work of Roze and Wyzewa with gratitude, now that Brunet's translation has become rare, and in view of the fact that Caxton's translation contains such a large amount of matter added by various later hands.

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CHAPTER II

The Influence of the Golden Legend on Pre-Reformation Culture History

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THE point of this essay is that this work of Varagine is the occasion of certain phenomena which have been accounted for on the ground of other influences or passed by as having no explainable ground.

It is introduced as an illustration of the influence of literary works in forming historical conditions and the need of a knowledge of a work itself and the quality of its influence in forming a proper understanding of the circumstances of a given period.

It aims to suggest the need of scientific groundwork for the estimating of that influence in the collection of actual data as to the number and distribution of mss., or the number and size of the editions of a work.

It was suggested by the fact that in trying to follow out exhaustively several trails in somewhat differing subjects, without finding satisfactory causes for the effects,

three of the trails converged in Voragine who had been entirely passed by the chief investigators in some of these lines.

These were:

1. The prevalence of certain forms of the Life of St. Clement of Rome.
2. The stage-setting of early diabolistic plays and the imagery of such representations in literature.
3. The prevalence of "compacts with Satan" just before the Reformation.

The work known generally as the Golden Legend, or *Legenda aurea*, is known also as *Historia longobardica Vitae sanctorum*, *Legenda sanctorum*, etc.

The author, variously known as Jacobus de Voragine, Jacopo da Voragine, Jacobus a Voragine, Giacomo di Viraggio, Jacobus Januensis, and even Johannes Januensis, was born about 1230,¹ entered the order of the Dominicans in 1244,² became Archbishop of Genoa in 1292,³ and died about 1298.⁴ He wrote this work some considerable time before the end of his life, perhaps, as Fabricius⁵ says, before the year 1273.

The popularity of the work is in a general way well known, and has been more or less fully exhibited,⁶ but the extraordinary nature of this popularity is none too clearly conceived, for it is not given due weight in the

¹ Omn. ² Tiraboschi, *Storia della lett. ital.*, iv. (1823), 233.

³ Fabricius, Tiraboschi, etc.

⁴ Cave, *Hist. lit.*, 2 (Oxen. 1743), 334. et al. It is undoubtedly, correct, though some prolong even to 1312.

⁵ "Tempore interregni ante A. 1273." Fabricius, *Salutaris lux evangelii* (Hamburg, 1731), p. 214. ⁶ Fabricius, Echard et Quetif, Brunet, etc.

interpretation of popular imagination of the middle ages. It is often passed by, even, as an outdated mass of fictions. Fiction it is and outdated, but it is a fact, and it was a force. If the period is to be understood, it must be understood. It is worth the pains to try to verify the conception of popularity as applied to the Golden Legend.

We speak of our modern novels as popular, but there has never been a modern novel which has had such a popularity as this *Historia longobardica* of Voragine. "Robert Ellsmere" and the apocryphal "Ben Hur" have their day and cease to be, like the "Castle of Otranto" and "Thaddeus of Warsaw" before them, but here is a work which retained full popularity for 250 years. Written toward the end of the 13th century, it sprang into immediate popularity, so that even as early as 1290 it seems to have received the name *Aurea Legenda*.¹

Manuscripts of the work are very numerous. Ristelhuber(?), speaking of the Theophilus legend, says it received its widest circulation through the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais; but mss. of Vincent, numerous as they are, are much less so than mss. of Voragine.

"The eagerness with which it was received," says Brunet,² "gave plenty of business to the copyists. Infinite numbers of manuscripts of it were reproduced." In the collection of catalogues of mss. by Montfaucon (1739), one can find mention of nearly fifty mss. of the work.

¹ There is a ms. at Le Mans dated 1290, so entitled in Haenel col. 202. There are many mss. of the 13th century still extant, showing already a distribution over all Europe.

² *La légende dorée*. Tr. par Gustav Brunet. Paris, 1848.

From the collection by Haenel (1830) I have extracted from under various rubrics sixty-one. Supposing that the ratio to extant mss. is the same as I have found it to be in the case of the Clementine Recognitions, one might expect to find three hundred or more extant mss. of the Legend. Such data as I have been able to collect from modern catalogues of mss. indicate that this estimate might not be excessive and that at the very least there are more than two hundred mss. of the work still existing, scattered in every locality of Europe. It was early translated into at least French (ms. Soissons, 1335), Dutch (ms. Utrecht), and Italian (ms. Florence, 1430).

Striking as the result of an analysis of mss. is, an analysis of printed editions is still more so. The first edition was shortly after 1470. I have gathered from various sources¹ a list of more than 150 subsequent editions in Latin (ab. 95), French (20), Italian (16), English (8), Dutch (14), and Bohemian (3), and all but about half a dozen of these are within little more than fifty years from the time of the first edition. I have not included in this list a High and a Low German translation variously mentioned,² nor the multitudinous editions of the famous German *Passional*, which is said³ to differ from *Voragine*.⁴

I have here a table of the editions, giving distribution

¹ Panzer, Mattaire, Graesse, Brunet, Fabricius, Cave, many library, auction, and antiquarian catalogues, etc., etc., etc.

² E.g. Quaritch. Catal. (1888), Nos. 36,112 and 36,188.

³ J. O. Brunet, *Manuel* 3 (1862), 900 s. v. *Leben*.

⁴ I fancy this may be found closely related to *Voragine*, but have had no opportunity to examine.

by years and places of publication.¹ From the year of the first dated edition (1474) to the end of the century and even later, there is not a single year which did not see some new edition, and there is reason to believe that the editions were often larger than the usual editions of a work in those days.²

But the number of mss. or editions by no means measures the influence of the *Golden Legend*. The frequently printed *Liber festivalis*, first published by Caxton in 1483, is a type of a considerable class of works. The author, Mirkus, explains that in compiling these sermons for all the principal feasts of the year he has extracted chiefly from the *Golden Legend*.³

Voragine himself has a series of sermons for the whole year, which were of the same cast and only less popular

¹ A critical bibliographical treatment of the material is impossible here. The following tables will give an accurate enough general idea, though undoubtedly some editions have been wrongly admitted, as some of those not included may have been wrongly dropped.

BY YEARS: 1472(?), 1474(3), 1475(3), 1476(2), 1477(2), 1478(4), 1479(3), 1480(5), 1481(6), 1482(5), 1483(8), 1484(6), 1485(6), 1486(4), 1487(5), 1488(5), 1489(2), 1490(3), 1491(1), 1492(3), 1493(6), 1494(1), 1495(2), 1496(7), 1497(6), 1498(1), 1499(3), 1500(3), 1501(1), 1502(1), 1503(2), 1504(1), 1505(1), 1509(1), 1510(2), 1511(1), 1512(3), 1516(2), 1518(1), 1522(1), 1524(1), 1525(1), 1526(1), 1527(1), 1533(1), 1546(1), 1554(1), 1576(1), 1585(1), 1607(1), 1843(1), 1846(1), 1850(1), 1878(1), s.a. mainly before 1500, (22). BY COUNTRIES: Bohemia(3), England(8), France(34), Germany(39), Italy(27), Netherlands(24), Switzerland(9), s. l. (15?).

² Cf. Aspland's ed. of Caxton's edition (1878), p.36, showing that Caxton printed more than his usual number. The unusual number of extant editions and copies goes to indicate the same thing. There are, e.g., not far from a dozen copies of various editions in the Boston Public, Harvard University, and Union Theological Seminary (N.Y.) Libraries.

³ Blades, Caxton (1882), 264.

than the Legend itself, and indeed were called later "sermones aurei."¹

An enumeration of mss. of these works and others such as these, and many a selection, condensation, and redaction, with innumerable martyrologies and hagiologies which have drawn from this, would be necessary to give a full view of the actual literary influence of the work.

And this again only begins to give a glimpse of the real outreaching of its ideas, and forms of imagination, for these works were not simply read by students. The sermons were preached and the legends read by the parish priest, according to the custom of the time,² day by day to his attentive hearers,³ so that each copy was more than a circulating library, and its influence almost to be compared with that of the Press in modern times. Its ideas were worked in and in upon the minds of the people, until they thought in its images, dreamed in its thoughts, and acted in its principles. Read the Legend through and, steeped in the decoction of diabolistic imagery, try to think how people could help having nightmares of demons.

The work consists, as its average name suggests, of legends of the saints, attached to a brief History of Lombardy like a dog to his tail—barring the vital connection.

Here one finds the great bulk of the stories so familiar to us in art and poetry, for the author collected with utmost assiduity every thing improbable which had ever

¹ In ed. Paris, (1500) at least.

² "Comme le prouve une foule de temoignages." Du Meril, *Poesies populaires lat. m. a.* (1847), p. 61.

³ G. Brunet, *Leg. dor.* Introd.

appeared in hagiologic literature. His principle of criticism was aggregation and the elimination of the probable, albeit he makes considerable show in parading his "authorities."

The wonderful miracles, fastings, sufferings, humility, unselfishness of the saints are an endless theme, but it is on the temptation of men that the author loves chiefly to dwell.

In this work there are demons at every turn, demons in the forms of dragons, of angels, of saints, of men; as infants, as Ethiopians, as Jews, as birds, beasts, and reptiles, and especially as women, always tempting, promising, tormenting, tormented, howling, yet always overcome. The consultations of these by magic rites are innumerable and so are vivid hand-to-hand fights with the devil, strugglings, magic deliverance from prison and bonds, and here too is the whole scenic effect of later plays in the flames, fiery furnaces, earthquakes, flaming eyes, and sulphur-breathing mouths. One is fairly steeped in such things. It is easy to see how minds saturated with these ideas readily grew into certain familiar phases of habit of worship, of superstition, or of life.

Recognizing fully that every literary work was a factor in some degree among the many factors which went to form the pre-Reformation life, it is worth while to recognize and trace among all factors, a somewhat peculiar and extended influence of this work—how it penetrates into that strange history of magic, how it touches the miracle plays, how it runs into folk-lore, into literature and art, shapes conceptions of heaven or hell, which

endure to the present, and forms habits and methods of piety.

But it is impossible on any generalization to get a clear conception of its actual influence. The fact can best be tested by following out in somewhat minute analysis some single feature.

I have suggested three in which I have traced it somewhat minutely and I have followed it out more or less fully in respect of others—as in the Mahomet legends,¹ the worship of the Virgin, and various legends of the saints. But let me take from among these one minute analysis and a single easily realized generalization—take, *e. g.*, the curious prevalence of stories of compacts with Satan at the end of the fifteenth century,² so often remarked on and accounted for, now (not improperly but not mysteriously) by peculiar Satanic activity on the eve of the Reformation; now by a mysterious “evolution” or “flowing together” in the popular thought³—making what a mind too lazy for analysis calls a myth,—but let us see.

The oldest and probable original of all stories of such compacts is that of Cyprian of Antioch, which dates certainly from before Gregory Naz., and perhaps as early as the second century.⁴ But this compact was oral, and, moreover, was not consummated, as Satan failed to fulfil his part of the bargain. The introduction of the written compact is in the story of Theophilus—unquestionably the original of all written compacts.

¹ Cf. Dupont. *Roman de Mahomet*. Ed. Ziolecki (1887), XXXI.

² Cf. Ristelhuber. *Faust* (1863).

³ Steitz. In. *Stud. u. Krit.* 1867.

⁴ Cf. Zahn. *Cyprian v. Ant.* Erlangen, 1882.

Borrowing from this or from the story of Cyprian of Antioch, there sprang up other legends of compacts, written or unwritten, in which saints or the Virgin figure as deliverers—such as that of the soldier who sold his wife to Satan, and the ones whom Basil delivered with so great effort. In the next widening circle it enters into general literature, and is found in Caesar von Heisterbach (1220),¹ in the famous "*Liber militarius*" of Gotfried von Thienen,² and among the French *trouvères*.³ Thence again it enters into various curious magical freaks of the succeeding centuries, into the stories of Twardowski, Faust, and the like, into Calderon's drama⁴ and the trial of the Salem witches,⁵ yes, and yet again into humblest folk lore,⁶ until it has become one of the most widespread of conceptions.

A good deal of care has been given to the collection and study of these stories, especially by students of Faust or Calderon, of Theophilus, or of Early French Poetry. Almost without exception, however, those who have most carefully collected allusions to and repetitions of these

¹ "Miracul. II., Ch. XII. In: Tissier. Bibl. patr. Cist."

² In: Scheible. Kloster. 2(1846), 155-64.

³ Cf. Rutebeuf, ed. Jubinal.

⁴ Il magico prodigioso.

⁵ Cotton Mather, in his "Wonders of the Invisible World," 3d ed., 1693, repr. 1865, p. 443, quotes from "Dr. Horneck's" account of what happened at "Mobra in Sweedland," bringing out in black letter "where it agrees with what happened among ourselves."

"The first thing... was to give themselves to the Devil... Here-upon they cut their fingers, and with Blood writ their Names in his Book." The "book" and the "contract with Satan" continually appear in the proceedings.

⁶ The idea of compact is frequent here, but I have not been able to verify a statement that the stories of "Sieur Nann and the Korigan" and "Sir Olaf and the Erlking's Daughter" belong to this class.

stories, have entirely passed Voragine's versions,¹ or at least entirely failed to swing them into the line of investigation in their significance. It is like a description of the waters which flow into the Gulf of Mexico, which omits the Mississippi River, for this much-read work contains at least four of the most clearly marked and common forms. Here under the Nativity of Mary is the story of Theophilus; under S. Justina is the story of Cyprian; under the Assumption of Mary is the soldier who sold his wife; and under S. Basil, the lover-slave. The obscure placing of the stories so that they appear only in actually reading the whole mass through, is perhaps the reason of the general omission; but the fact illustrates in one minute point the general truth that the influence of Voragine's work in the actual formation of men's ideas is not fully recognized.

But the field, narrow as it is, has again become too wide for illustration. Instead of all compacts, take one form—the story of the written compact in the story of Theophilus.

The introduction of the written compact, which with most of us is inseparable substance of the story, is in the story of Theophilus, the original of all the modern stories of written compacts with Satan.

This story written in Greek by Eutychianus in the sixth century, and preserved in two recensions, was translated into Latin by Paulus Diaconus in the eighth, and again into Latin verse by Marbod of Rennes (†1123).

¹ Ristelhuber, *Faust*. Paris, 1863. Monmerqué et Michel, *Theatr. fr.* 1839, 1842. Jubinal ed. of Rutebeuf. Wagner, *Marlowe's Faustus*. Lond., 1877. v. d. Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*. 3 (1850).

It was told in full, in a Latin poem, by Hroswitha, the nun of Gandersheim, in the tenth century; versified again in Latin by an unknown French writer of the eleventh century; related in brief by Honorius, Sigbertus in his chronicle, Fulbertus, twice by Vincent of Beauvais, Martinus Polanus, and Voragine in Latin, and by Ælfric in Anglo-Saxon, all before the year 1300. It is mentioned or told by Damianus, Albericus, Albertus Magnus, St. Bonaventure, at least twice by St. Bernard, by Conrad of Wurzburg, Hartmann, Rutebeuf Gautier de Coinsi, and in at least three anonymous French poems, and all these before or contemporary with Voragine and his *Golden Legend*. Beginning with the end of the thirteenth century allusions multiply. There are Flemish, Low German, High German, French, Swedish, Anglo-Roman, Icelandic, and Irish poems or miracles, and allusions of all sorts, especially in sermons, hymns, lectionaries, lives of the saints, and the multitudinous works on the Virgin Mary. It is frescoed on the Cathedral of Nancy, painted on glass at Laon, le Mans, and Troyes, and twice sculptured on the façade of Notre Dame at Paris.¹

Theophilus was Vidame of Adana, in Cilicia. Elected to the bishopric, he modestly declined the office, and another was chosen in his stead, who immediately deposed

¹ It is not worth while to detail here the sources or to enumerate more fully. The list has been gathered from various sources, but the bulk of the references can be found in the *Acta sanctorum* Feb. I. ed. Paris, Palmé v. 4p. 486, in the earlier edition of Jubinal's *Rutebeuf* and the works of Ristelhuber, Monmerqué et Michel, Wagner, and v. d. Hagen, and presumably the works of Ettmüller (Quedl. 1849), and Sommer (Beorl, 1844), not at hand.

Theophilus from his Vidameship. Naturally vexed at such treatment, and seeking for redress, he found a Jewish magician, who, after customary ceremonies, introduced him to the Satanic host and its prince, with whom he made a compact in his own handwriting, sealed with his own ring, by which he renounced Christ, the Virgin, and all things holy. He was reinstated in his position, and enjoyed its honors for a time, but at length became troubled by his state, and spending forty days in fasting and prayer to the Virgin, she appeared and comforted him, and secured for him again the document which he had given to Satan. Three days later he had a vision of the Virgin bringing him the compact, and when he awoke he found it on his breast. He made confession in the presence of the people. The compact was read and burned, and after three days of joy he died in peace.

Here is a written compact, but as yet there is no idea of a compact signed in blood. All through the history of medieval magic, as well as medieval hagiology, this idea recurs, and in later culture-history this idea has become the familiar conception. The earliest mention is represented to have been by Rutebeuf, the French trouvère,¹ and through him it is said to have worked into literature and popular imagination. It is not found before him,² and he does use the story twice;³ but it is found also in Voragine, who was his contemporary, and

¹ Wagner, p. 8, et al.

² At least, in any allusion I have been able to find, although I have examined the text of all excepting S. Bonaventura.

³ In an Ave and as subject of a Miracle.

the circulation of the idea through Rutebeuf was utterly insignificant beside that through Voragine. Moreover, it is likely that Voragine was the originator of the idea. Rutebeuf was born some years later, and, according to some, lived longer than Voragine. The possibility that Rutebeuf took from Voragine is increased to probability, if the statement of Fabricius,¹ that the *Legenda aurea* was written "ante 1273," is true.

Whatever his authority may have been, the fact before mentioned, of the ms. dated 1290, and the great prevalence of thirteenth-century mss., would make this early date almost necessary. Then, too, the change seems to have been made in the Latin rather than the French. The old form was: "Faciens chirographium, imposita cera, signavit annulo proprio." Damianus has "proprio caractere," and the *Martyrologium Germanicum* "proprio suo chirographio." In Voragine it appears as "cirographum suo sanguine proprio scripsit et scriptum annulo sigillavit."² Add to this, that Voragine quotes as source of his version Fulbertus Carnotensis who also makes mention of the blood, and the conviction is almost irresistible that whencesoever it may have crept into Voragine's brain, it crept into this story as one of the little embellishments of his imagination. At all events, the reason of the great prevalence of this idea is found in the popularity of the *Golden Legend*.

So much for the Theophilus story. This is only one single stroke, but this one trait is a type. The track has

¹ *Salutaris lux evangelii* (Hamb. 1731), 214.

² Ed. Ulm, 1488. M. 1.

been followed out in more or less detail in many particulars. Take the stories of compacts, take the life of Clement, take especially the whole paraphernalia of medieval magic, and the suggestion is the same.

It is not at all that the ideas were original with Voragine. St. Thomas Aquinas, *e.g.*, thought he saw Satan in the form of an Ethiopian, and many a man before his time helped him to crystallize his thoughts into that form of conception, but it was Voragine who, by his compilation, did more than all others combined to make that conception a part of the popular mind in later centuries, in story, in plays, and in literature.

Following this analytical illustration, a brief, generalized one, which I would like, if there was time, to draw out in fuller statement, so fascinating is the theme.

Every picture-gallery of Europe is crowded with saints and symbols. Many of these are strictly legendary, and even the multitudinous Scripture representations are taken from, or influenced by, the legends rather than Scripture, for they have some clearly legendary traits. It was only yesterday that I ran across this expression of Mrs. Jameson, which will condense what I had intended to say now by some pages. "The Legendary Art of the Middle Ages sprang out of the legendary literature of the preceding ages."¹

She goes on to say that "For three centuries at least this literature—the only literature which existed at the time—formed the sole mental and moral nourishment of the *people* of Europe."

¹ Jameson: *Sacred and Legendary Art*, p. 2.

It is hardly necessary to suggest again the part which Voragine played in this influence, or to remind that the real beginnings of modern art were hardly earlier than Voragine.¹

I fancy that the more remote influence of Voragine and other hagiologists on modern literature and art is even greater than its tangible effect on the former. For consider that this was the field and the chief gymnastic on which the popular imagination of centuries was trained, and, though useless for fact, yet, as imagination-gymnastic, it could hardly be improved on.

The popularity of the Golden Legend has thus been illustrated by the wide circulation of itself and its ideas, and its influence on culture-history, through this popularity, suggested in two illustrations, which indicate that this influence can be easily traced in the religious life of the people, in literature, and in art.

¹ Niccola Pisano, fl. 1260; Cimabue, b. 1240, d. 1302(?); Duccio, fl. 1282-1320; and Giotto, b. 1266, d. 1337, were his contemporaries. Almost all art, whether in illumination of mss., in painting on glass, or wall painting, or what not, was sacred and very generally legendary. The fact is that "In the thirteenth century medieval art underwent a great transformation" (Woltmann and Woermann, N. Y., 1880, p. 335), and the Golden Legend was in the midst of it, and became of it more and more.

CHAPTER III

Golden Sermons

NOT long after the publication of the Golden Legend, Varagine, with diffidence, published his first written sermons. If his oral preaching was effective, his written sermons proved even more so. This is the beauty of successful writing. Oral speech is more moving but the written word travels farther and works longer. So at least it was with Varagine; his oral preaching was throughout Italy and continued for perhaps fifty years but his written preaching had vogue for five times fifty years and throughout the whole civilized world of his time—indeed his sermons have been read more or less for nearly seven hundred years and are read even now and in continents not imagined when he wrote. The popularity began before he was thirty years old and lasted until the Reformation. The sermons vied with the Golden Legend itself in popular interest and like it became known as Golden because of the popularity. Hundreds of manuscripts of them are still extant, together with thousands of early copies. When it is remembered that these served not only for reading but for preaching by others and as material for vernacular sermons everywhere, in all languages, it is not improbable that the author actually reached more con-

sciences through his written sermons than he would have reached by oral preaching if he had traveled and preached every day of his life and to as many persons as could get within range of his voice at each preaching.

The sermons are all in Latin; it was not permitted by the rule to write them in Italian.

Some time soon after 1255, at the request of his convent brethren, he ventured on the publication of this first series of sermons; Sermons on the Gospels for Sundays. Later he published at least four other series. Those which have been printed correspond with the list given by Varagine himself in his Chronicle as follows: Sermons on all the Saints, Sermons on the Gospels for Sundays, Sermons on the Gospels in Lent, and the Mariale. Besides these there are series of Visitation sermons, Doctrinal sermons perhaps and a number of occasional sermons.

The Sermons on the Saints are the first mentioned in Varagine's list and probably the bulk of them were written before the Dominical, the first published series. This series on the saints contains 307 sermons, each saint's day or festival being provided with from two to nine sermons. It follows the Dominican church calendar or rather the Golden Legend which itself follows the church year. Each saint's day or festival had, for purposes of public worship, its appropriate reading and an appropriate sermon or sermons. It needs farther to be noticed that although the sermons presume the Golden Legend and follow it, they are not based on it but on Scripture. Each sermon has its scriptural text and the

usual proportion of quotations from Scripture, sometimes twenty or thirty in a sermon.

The history of the series is obviously connected with that of the *Golden Legend*. When the Order undertook the systematic revision of its church service books in the years following 1245, it occurred to Varagine, or was suggested to him, to prepare a lectionary of the saints following the revised calendar. This was his avocation for several years and resulted in the *Golden Legend*. Meantime he was preparing for and exercising his vocation as a preacher friar. Naturally sermons would be prepared out of the chips of his other work, following perhaps in their composition the order of composition in the *Legend*, as he took up one saint after another. It is likely therefore, that the series was planned not long after the *Legend*, followed a more or less parallel line of composition and was completed for publication not long after the *Legend*, the composition extending thus perhaps from 1248, to say 1258.

To appreciate the real excellence of the series, it must be remembered that the sermons are not biographies of the saints; they are lessons drawn from their lives and miracles, not a rehearsal of biographical facts. They take for granted that the corresponding passage of the *Legend* has been read earlier in the same service in the same way that other sermons take for granted that the appropriate gospel has been read. Such biographical facts as occur, are therefore allusions for hearers who have the details of the life so freshly before them that these did not need to be repeated. With these facts in mind, the sermons appear for what they are: sane, intelligent, ingenious, and

practical applications of the biographical facts rehearsed in the Legend, for spiritual edification, on the ground of a text, the lesson being drawn from the text itself, and illustrated from the life of the saint. These lessons do not differ much from those which a modern Protestant preacher would draw from, say the lives of Livingston or Wesley. Some matter-of-course acceptance of apocryphal events and ecclesiastical miracles, must certainly be discounted but, apart from this, Varagine's treatment of the saints in his sermons does not differ at bottom very much from the Protestant treatment of Protestant saints e. g. Marcus Whitman in anniversary sermons. The modern biographical sermon is often less scriptural and less pointed in its spiritual and practical application. And for that matter, there is not, after all, much difference between ecclesiastical miracles and the Protestant "direct answer to prayer", which is so often the point of religious biography. For centuries the author of the *Golden Legend* as remarked in the study on this work, has been berated up hill and down for his credulity in this matter of miracles, but in fact his mind was anything but credulous and his treatment considering the times, must be counted truly, if crudely, scientific, since he often cites his authorities in order to relieve himself from responsibility in doubtful matters, and he sometimes even practices the favorite modern Protestant diversion of finding a natural explanation for alleged miracles.

An example of this is one of his sermons on the stigmata of St. Francis. The text is, of course, "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." There were, he

says, five reasons in St. Francis' heart which were the causes of the stigmata upon his body. The first of these was a vivid imagination. He gives then two examples of childbirth showing that a vivid impression on the mother's mind affects the child's body, and says this is true also of animals. In the same way he says, the wounds of the passion were impressed on the flesh of St. Francis through his vivid imagination. The second reason was ardent love which also has the power of imprinting the image of the loved one upon the lover. The third reason is intense contemplation. The fourth is profound meditation. The fifth is strong sympathy. All of these are, he says, capable of imprinting a mental image on the flesh.

His method of biographical allusion, when he uses direct allusions at all in these sermons, which is somewhat rarely, is sufficiently indicated by a short quotation from the fifth sermon on St. Dominic. Elaborating the second section, on St. Dominic's ministry of God's service, he speaks of his ministry of love, of faith, and of works, and adds "in the fourth place he gave himself wholly unto God. For since he had received from God body and soul and estate, he in turn gave to his neighbor his body to be sold, as appears in the Legend, his soul to suffer with him, whence it is said of him that the Lord gave to him special grace to weep for miserable and afflicted sinners, and his estate to aid, for he gave all his goods to the poor." Each of these allusions corresponds to an incident given in the Legend.

This series of sermons is, as a whole, perhaps the least valuable of the three main series. But however

Protestant a man may be, he would be very unresponsive not to profit spiritually, at least from the lessons of the strictly biographical sermons among them; sermons which bring out so practically, so soundly and often so charmingly the lessons of humility, self-sacrifice, love and devotion, from the lives of good men and women.

The Sunday and the Lenten sermons which follow those on the saints, and precede the *Mariale*, fall into a group together. They are both series of "gospel sermons" following the order of the gospels for the church year and are alike in ranging over the whole field of general evangelical preaching. They are "general" sermons as distinguished from those on the saints, on the doctrines, on the Virgin, or for visitations. As such they are the most interesting of all, being unquestionably the most varied in character, and on the whole, highest in quality. Of the two groups, the Lenten are the more mature and may be regarded as the high water mark of Varagine's work, perhaps the last published. They consist of two discourses on the gospel for the day, for each day from Ash Wednesday until the Tuesday after Easter—one hundred in all.

The Sunday sermons were probably the first published. This appears from the preface where the author shows a certain diffidence about publishing, more appropriate to one putting forth a maiden effort than to one who had already published. He is led to their publication, he says, "not by any excess of rash daring but by urgent importunity of the brethren," and he goes on to say, that he hopes that in spite of his slight knowledge and inadequate ability, "divine goodness will supplement,

brotherly love aid, and the sincere intention that I have, excuse my imperfections." This might even justify putting this series before the Golden Legend, that is to say, before 1255.

The work consists of three sermons on each Sunday gospel, as the preface says, "in honor of the three persons of the Trinity, of the glorious Mother of God, and of the blessed Saint Dominic our father." There are in all 158 of these Sunday sermons.

Almost every variety of general preaching style may be found in these two series on the Gospels. There are sermons from a single text, sermons from a whole passage, and all sorts of thematic sermons. Some are simple, direct, bare of all illustration save Scripture quotation; others are in the highly allegorical method so common in the Middle Ages, where instead of the plain and direct interpretations, the most fanciful meanings are placed upon the words of the text and these figures placed again upon all fours and carried to the ultimate; and still others here and there are of scholastic elaborateness. Again there will often be a shrewd mingling of all styles of good exposition, apt illustration, reasonable sub-division and sufficiently chastened metaphor.

The best way of getting an idea of the styles affected by Varagine is to turn to the Lenten sermons which are the most varied as well as the most mature of them all. One may open these almost at haphazard and find within a few dozen pages examples of all of the author's most characteristic styles. The first sermon in the fourth day of the third week in Lent is e. g. anecdotal.

dotal; the following is allegorical; the next is noteworthy for its minute scholastic sub-division, and, skipping one, there is an admirable simple scriptural exposition of the story of the Woman of Samaria.

Almost the only style alleged to be characteristic which is not to be found in these Lenten sermons is the dialogue. Examples of this may, however, be found in the series on the saints, e. g. the sixth and seventh sermons on the Assumption of the Virgin. Both these are on Ecc. 24, "I am like a cedar of Lebanon, etc." The six trees here mentioned cedar, cypress, palm, rose, olive, and plane, represent, he says, the six orders of the saints in Heaven, that is to say, virgins, confessors, martyrs, apostles, prophets and patriarchs. The sermon is supposed to represent a conversation with each of these orders in turn when the Virgin Mother visited them on her Assumption. The second on the same passage, is on the nine aromas which represent, he says, the nine orders of angels with whom the Virgin converses in the same way. The conversation with each of the orders in both sermons is much the same and consists of prayer to the Virgin that she will stay, and her answer that she will not leave them but will abide as a "palm" or as "balsam," etc. The holy martyrs for example; "Thou shouldst be with us Lady, Thou who wert martyr and more than martyr, whom the lance of such great pain pierced, such constancy armed and so great love inflamed." She responds, "I will not leave you, children, but as a palm in Cades I will abide with you." The preacher then goes on to explain that by palm is meant victory, by Cades the

martyrs. This is, in fact, about all the "dialogue" there is under any head, the bulk of the sermon being taken up with elucidations.

The *Mariale* is the last of the series mentioned by Varagine and possibly the last published, although no doubt many of the sermons were written early in his preaching career at the time when the great revival of Virgin worship spread over the religious world. It is to be classed with the sermons on the saints in the fact that the motive and method is biographical. The point is to set forth some personal trait as a matter for approval, admiration, contemplation and imitation.

The work consists of one hundred and fifty-nine sermons on the various virtues, attributes, characteristics or titles of the Virgin arranged alphabetically, "abstinence, advocate, aider," etc. She is an almond tree, a balsam, a cedar, a cinnamon, a cypress, an olive, a palm; she is the lily, rose and vine; she is moon and star, star of the morning and star of the sea; cloud and heaven itself; she is love and lamb, myrrh and spikenard and galbanum, queen and empress, ivory and the pearl of God—and so on to the number of one hundred and forty-four in all, reminding one of the litany of Loreto as now used in the Roman Catholic church.

Although in these sermons the place of the usual text at the beginning is taken by some title or virtue of the Virgin Mary, the text itself is, after all, never far away, each of the qualities treated being brought into relation with a text or texts somewhere in the sermon. The treatment, moreover, is often textual, the divisions being drawn exegetically from the text.

Although by the nature of things these are more or less mystical and often rather fantastic they are on the whole, far less rhapsodical than most such sermons and frequently as sane and practical as Varagine at his best. Many do not differ greatly from those which might be written on any Scripture character and they are sometimes most suggestive spiritually. Take, for example, the twelfth sermon under the letter V on the Unity between Christ and the Blessed Virgin His Mother. He says that there are four kinds of unity; first, that of man and wife, second, that of parent and child; third, the social unity between friend and friend; fourth, spiritual unity between the human spirit and God. This last was Mary's love for her Son, to whom she was united by love, because she was wholly turned into love, as iron placed in the fire becomes itself wholly fire, only that her love was greater than this because it could not be extinguished by the water of tribulation.

In the fifth sermon, under the same letter, the WORDS (*verba*) of the Blessed Mary have, he says five praiseworthy aspects; first, they were not prolix but very few and brief; second, they were not lightly uttered but carefully premeditated; third, they were not forward but timid and modest, fourth, they were not careless but very discreet "for he who speaks must see to it what, when, to whom, and how he speaks."

Besides these long series there are several occasional sermons extant, of which two are accessible in print. These are, the one on the Passion of our Lord, and the other on the Lament of Mary, both printed with

the Lenten series. The latter of these is about five times as long as the usual sermon, and the former nearly ten times. It is an interesting fact, however, that the sermon on the "Passion" is divided into six sections of approximately equal length, each one being, therefore, not very much longer than the longest of the other sermons. As a whole it contains about fifteen thousand words, and being so much longer than the longest in the series, it raises the question whether the latter are, in fact, so much sermons as sermon abstracts, as similar works by other authors of the times are often described to be. It has even been surmised on the ground of the existing longer forms that there was a fuller edition of all the sermons. On the other hand, the shorter forms have all the appearance, brief and meaty as they are, of finished works and are grouped not one a day, but at least two, and at times four or five and even more. Doubtless the preaching in that day consisted as the visitor to the cathedral in Genoa may find it today, in a series of sermons, or parts, ten or fifteen minutes long and separated by intervals of two two or three minutes during which the preacher sits to rest or kneels for silent prayer. It was not unusual in a convent to have sermons in several installments—morning and afternoon or evening. Both the breaks in the long sermon and the groups of short ones may be explained on this ground. It may also be that the shorter sermons were expanded on occasion especially in popular preaching, or they may, like those of Robertson, be the condensations from longer extemporaneous ones. It may quite likely be, however, that whether preached by himself or read by some-

one else to the brothers, they were delivered precisely in their published form when preached to the Religious. Varagine himself often deprecates severely, all loquaciousness, redundancy, and repetition, and, after all, the length of the average sermon is about that of the admirable alleged ideal rule, i. e., eight to twelve minutes. Moreover, he himself speaks of two editions of some of his sermons, one very diffuse and the other very succinct—and there are a few specimens extant of the more diffuse edition.

Whatever may be the fact regarding the intrinsic merit of Varagine's sermons, oral or written, judged by the canons of taste of our own time or by their relative merit to those of other preachers of the olden times, two facts stand out distinctly. They were beyond a doubt uncommonly popular in his own time and for centuries afterwards, and they were practically effective for a great movement in the "reformation of morals" and to the point of constraining passionate men to lay aside their quarrels.

Looking for the secret of his effectiveness, it is to be noted in the first place, that like most very successful preaching, it was intensely scriptural in its character. There is in his sermons on an average, a Scripture quotation in every eighty words, at times there is one in thirty words. The final point of his Lenten sermon on the Lord's Supper contains twelve quotations in its one hundred and forty-four words.

A second element of his effectiveness was the range and aptitude of his quotations from the Fathers and

other writers. He had facile command of a prodigious range of sacred and secular writings.

Again something may be said for his free and apt use of anecdote, metaphor, and simile. His anecdotes like his quotations are always pat and often have a flavor of humor which may well justify Father Barry's passing description of him as "The witty Jacobus de Varagine."

But when everything has been said in favor of illustration, quotation, figures and anecdote, it must be confessed that these things are not fundamental. Sermons may have all of these elements and be dull to boredom or have none of them and yet be interesting and effective. As a matter of fact, many of Varagine's are quite without illustration save Scripture quotation and yet have power and even charm in high degree. The essence of Varagine's power must therefore be sought within these narrowest limits of the sermon without illustration.

It is probable that the clearness of outline and subdivisions which brought on him the reproach of scholasticism may have contributed something to effectiveness but this certainly does not explain charm. Something too, may be credited to the remarkable variety of his style, but in the last analysis, the secret lies and must lie in that "style which is the man." Of this style two or three elements may be analyzed out—to be interpreted in the light of the man's own character which is the weight behind all words.

One element of this style is to be found in its restraint.

That redundancy which is the commonest reproach of the layman against the pulpit is almost utterly absent. He says a thing and then lets go of it. It may be said that this is because these are condensed sermons but the same thing is true of his style in his longest and he often preaches the doctrine of brevity. It is fair therefore to say that this quality is both real and conscious.

Closely allied with this freedom from repetition is the terseness of his language which has frequently almost the value of epigram. But the secret of secrets lies in the directness and unaffected naturalness of his speech,—its simplicity, in short. It is doubtful if analysis of style can go further than this. If a man has this he has style. His writing is truly self utterance. The point is what kind of a self he has to utter—what manner of man this preacher himself was. This will appear more clearly as to Varagine as more of his life activities are studied but the sermons themselves show that although he belonged rather to the practical than to the mystical tendency, he has much of the divine passion. He is constantly speaking of this: “being inflamed with love for Christ”, “for love is a fire”, “love is strong as fire; it inflames love, inflames word, inflames deed,” “wholly inflamed with the love of God.” Of loving one’s enemies, he says, “If anyone shall pray for all the faithful and from those general prayers exclude his enemies he is not in a state of salvation,” and again “For the perfect should pray for their enemies not merely in a general way but specifically.” He is moreover a patient man. He is never tired of preaching forbear-

ance and humility, which may possibly be characterised as his favorite theme, although he is not therefore a "peace at any price" man by any means. "The water of the Holy Spirit", he says, "flows not in the mountains of the proud but in the valley of the humble", "The way to meet the angry is to be patient, to keep silent, to answer with pacific words, to leave them, to confer benefits on them," "The duty of a bishop is to chastise the erring, cherish the good, pacify the quarrelsome, encourage the timorous." "The prelate ought always to be humble in the presence of all men save of the proud, whose pride it is his duty to break." He is not indifferent to the duty of chastising the erring and rebuking the proud and he faithfully rebukes the lazy and erring among his friars and those heretics "Who have more faith in fables than in the divine word."

When a man with imagination and humor has burning love, deep humility and uncompromising hatred of pride and sloth, why should he not be an effective preacher? The man behind the words of these sermons is a man burning with love to God, tender towards his fellow men, loving peace and the middle way, but hating oppression and evil, and above all having that rare sympathy, in touch with the real people's people, which only a man of imagination and humor, love, humility and toleration can have.

In any event, he was a succesful preacher, much in demand, and he has some claim even to be called the father of modern preaching—for he was said to be the first "to discover the style of preaching used by him in his sermons."

CHAPTER IV

Voragine as a Preacher

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JACOBUS de Varagine, or Voragine,* is rather well known in these days as the author of the Golden Legend, but the many other achievements of this accomplished and versatile man seem forgotten. This is especially true of his contributions to the art and practice of preaching. The historians of preaching know little of him; Neale does not even mention him among the twenty mediæval preachers whom he quotes. And yet the blessed Giacomo was not only one of the most popular preachers of his time, both to the common people in the vernacular and to the Religious in the Latin, but he wrote a treatise on the art of preaching, a volume of sermon aids, and published sermons which continued among the most popular for more than two hundred years. He is possibly the most popular sermon writer of the late Middle Ages, and there are probably more manuscripts of his sermons extant than of fifteen out of

*The spelling of the name is retained with much reluctance, since by him and in his day it was never spelled otherwise than Varagine, Voragine being a punning form given in later days and adopted in the early printed editions. Jacobus de Voragine, of the Order of Preachers, was born about 1228, at Varazze; wrote the **Golden Legend** before 1258; was Provincial of Lombardy 1267-76, 1281-86; became Archbishop of Genoa 1292, and died there 1298.

Neale's twenty mediæval preachers put together. His sermons, like the Legend, became known as "Golden" by reason of their popularity. He has, moreover, some claim to be called the father of modern preaching.†

Even to have been great among the preachers of his own day would have been no small thing. It was the age of the revival of preaching. The two great orders of preaching friars, the minorities of St. Francis and the "preachers" of St. Dominic (Voragine's own order) had been founded only a few years before his birth in order to fight heresy by preaching. While he was a child, John of Vicenza was preaching to audiences of a hundred thousand the doctrine of that peace and reconciliation which it was to be Voragine's own peculiar mission also to proclaim, and with which his name was to be forever associated in the Church. Anthony of Padua was still living, and St. Francis and St. Dominic themselves were not long dead. Living and preaching at the same time with Voragine were Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus and, even greater as a preacher, the seraphic doctor St. Bonaventura. Before his death Master Eckhart, of his own order, soon to be Master of Tauler and Suso, was already becoming famous.

Somewhere between the popular preachers John of Vicenza and Anthony of Padua, on the one hand, and the scholastic Albertus and Aquinas, on the other, stands the versatile Voragine, acceptable both to clergy and laity, both in Latin and in the vernacular. More or less

†Razzi, *Istoria degli huomini ill. . . . del ord. degli Predicatori*. 1596: "and he was the first to discover that style of preaching exhibited by him in his sermons."

scholastic in method, reflecting in some degree the style common to many of the great preachers of his order, he had also a certain sense of the popular which gives even to his Latin sermons a quality not to be found in such degree among any of his scholastic contemporaries.

It is not strange that the author of the Golden Legend should have been popular as a preacher among the common people, or that the first translator of the Bible into Italian (if, in fact, this was Voragine) should have had special skill in speaking to the people in the common language. Such was indeed the fact. In those earliest days of the Italian language he spoke it, so it is said, with remarkable elegance, and whether Italian or Latin, it is certain that he spoke with force and pungency, and was acceptable to the common people. On the other hand, as Provincial of his order for Lombardy, which embraced at that time almost all of Italy north of Rome, and many convents, he must have been continually visiting the monasteries and preaching to the clergy, who in his time, the time of the founding of the universities, were obliged by their rules to maintain something of a university in every convent. Bologna was in his district, and it was under his provincialate that St. Thomas Aquinas was called there to teach under the direction thus of Voragine, since St. Thomas was a Dominican. He was therefore constantly preaching to the most educated and most cultivated men of his time, as well as to the lowliest, and he seems to have been equally acceptable to the Court, to the Religious and to the common people. So acceptable was the preaching that he was soon in demand, not only in his own neighbor-

hood, but throughout all Italy, and preached as an evangelist in almost all the chief cities of the land. Moreover, his preaching was effective to distinct results, for it is said in the Dominican breviary, that he "wrought a mighty reformation of morals among the people and influenced to love of virtue many who had been given over to love of pleasure." We know also that by his exhortation, in pulpit and out, he succeeded in making and keeping more or less peace between the before ever-warring factions of Guelfs and Ghibellines in Genoa.

Voragine's published sermones are all in Latin. Those in Italian have perished or been lost, if any were ever written down, which may be doubted. One may perhaps get an idea of what his Italian style was from two little treatises and especially one "On the virtues and vices," but of sermons proper there are no identified Italian ones extant. There is little reason to doubt that, after the manner of the time, he wrote his sermons, or sermon outlines, in Latin, and preached in the Italian from these notes. It may be that these very Latin sermons that we now have were preached to the people in their language, probably in free paraphrase, with much elaboration and adaptation to audience. Failing a devoted hearer to take down and preserve, as was done for Tauler, the vernacular sermons may never have gotten into writing at all. However that may be, the extant sermons are all Latin, but there is no lack of these—a thousand, say, of which more than seven hundred are in print. These extant sermons include at least five long series, of which four have been printed. The printed ones correspond with the list which Voragine himself gives us in his chronicle,

and are as follows: "Sermons on all the saints," "Sermons on the Gospels for Sundays and festivals," "Sermons on the Gospels in Lent" and the "Mariale." Besides these there are series of "Visitation sermons" and perhaps "Doctrinal sermons," besides a number of occasional sermons.

The sermons on all the saints follow the Dominican Church calendar for the year and, like the Golden Legend, cover not only the saints, but the festivals, Advent, etc. The sermons, in fact, parallel the Golden Legend. The "Legends" are named, it will be remembered, not from being tales, but from the fact that they are "Readings" on the saints for each of the calendar days. They form, in short, a lectionary exactly similar to the Gospel lectionary (evangelistary) which forms the basis of his Sunday and Lenten sermons, and were evidently intended to be read during service. One may find in the Dominican breviary to-day a similar reading on Voragine himself.

The number of sermons on each saint or festival varies from two to nine. The total number is 307.

These sermons are given first in the list by Voragine and may perhaps have been the first published of his sermons, although there is some doubt as to this. In any event they might naturally have followed the Legend, which was probably written before 1258, as the completion of a plan.

It is to be noted, in the first place, that these sermons are by no means biographies of the saints; they are "Improvements" or "Lessons" drawn from the lives and miracles, not a rehearsal of the facts. They rather seem

to take for granted that the corresponding passage of the Legend has been read earlier in the same service, in the same way that other sermons take for granted that the appropriate Gospel has been read. Such biographical facts as there are, are therefore allusions for hearers who have the details of the life so freshly in mind that these did not need to be repeated.

It would be equally a mistake for one to suppose that the treatment, because founded on the Golden Legend in some sort, was unscriptural. On the contrary, each sermon has its Scriptural text, and the usual proportion of references to Scripture, sometimes twenty or thirty in a sermon. The lessons drawn from the lives of the saints do not differ essentially from those which a modern preacher would draw from, say, the lives of Andrew and Peter, or, for that matter, of Livingston and Hanning-ton. Some matter-of-course acceptance of apocryphal events and ecclesiastical miracles, as well as the actual worship of the saints, must certainly be discounted by Protestants; but, apart from this, Voragine's treatment of the saints in his sermons does not differ at bottom very much from that, say, of sermons which were preached, even from Protestant pulpits, on the death of Leo XIII or on recent anniversaries of Wesley and Edwards. The modern biographical sermons, of which much is being made just now, are often less Scriptural and less pointed in their spiritual and practical application than these mediæval ones; and when one considers how much is made in modern biographical sermons of the evidences to spiritual character in the matter of direct answer to prayer, one wonders, in fact, where to draw the line

even on ecclesiastical miracles. The difference seems to lie, in fact, almost wholly in the circumstances of the time and the state of critical scholarship at the time. The sermons are, in themselves, sane, intelligent, ingenious and practical applications of the biographical facts rehearsed in the *Legenda*, for spiritual edification, on the ground of the text, the lesson being drawn from the text itself, and illustrated from the life of the saint. Although the exegesis is at times somewhat free and allegorical, it compares not unfavorably with some modern popular pulpit exegesis, and for the time must be counted remarkably good.

Take for example, the fifth sermon on Saint Dominic, the founder of Voragine's own order. The text is "2d Timothy 4":* "Do the work of an evangelist, fulfill thy ministry, be sober." "These words," he says, "show that St. Dominic was praiseworthy as regards his neighbor, as regards God, as regards himself; toward his neighbor, in that he did the 'work of an evangelist'; toward God, in that he 'fulfilled his ministry' and as to himself, in that he was 'sober.'"

That Voragine's attitude toward the miraculous is by no means one foolishly credulous, but on the contrary has something of the modern critical spirit even, is shown by one of his sermons on the stigmata of St. Francis. The text is, of course, "I bear in my body the marks of

*Some attempt was made to reconcile the Scripture quotations and references quoted from Voragine in this paper with the English versions, but between the differences of the Vulgate and Voragine's own transpositions and paraphrases it seemed best to quote the reference given in the form given, and make such translation of Scripture passages as seemed best suited to express the meaning that Voragine took from them.

the Lord Jesus." There were, he says, five reasons in St. Francis' heart which were the causes of the stigmata upon his body. The first of these was a vivid imagination. He gives then two examples of childbirth showing that a vivid impression on the mother's mind affects the child's body, and says this is true also of animals. In the same way, he says, the wounds of the Passion were impressed on the flesh of St. Francis through his vivid imagination. The second reason was ardent love, which also has the power of imprinting the image of the loved upon the lover. The third reason is intense (earnest) contemplation. The fourth is profound meditation. The fifth is strong sympathy. All of these are, he says, capable of imprinting a mental image on the flesh.

His method of biographical allusion, when he uses direct allusion at all in these sermons, which is somewhat rarely, is sufficiently indicated by a short quotation from the same fifth sermon on St. Dominic mentioned above. Elaborating the second section, on St. Dominic's ministry of God's service, he speaks of his ministry of love, of faith, and of works, and adds: "In the fourth place, he gave himself wholly to God. For since he had received from God body and soul and estate, he in turn gave to his neighbor his body to be sold, as appeared in the *Legenda*, his soul to suffer with him, whence it is said of him that the Lord gave to him special grace to weep for miserable and afflicted sinners, and his estate to aid, for he gave all his goods to the poor." Each of these allusions corresponds to an incident given in the *Legend*.

The sixth and seventh sermons of the series on the Assumption of the Virgin are examples of the somewhat

rare and interesting dialogue sermon. Both these sermons are on Eccles. 24, "I am like a cedar of Lebanon," etc. The six trees here mentioned—cedar, cypress, palm, rose, olive and plane—represent, he says, the six orders of the saints in Heaven, that is to say, virgins, confessors, martyrs, apostles, prophets and patriarchs. The sermon is supposed to represent a conversation with each of these orders in turn, when the Virgin Mother visited them on her Assumption. The second sermon on the same passage is on the nine aromas which represent, he says, the nine orders of angels with whom the Virgin converses in the same way. The conversation with each of the orders in both sermons is much the same and consists of prayer to the Virgin that she will stay, and her answer that she will not leave them but will abide as a "palm" or as "balsam," etc. The holy martyrs, for example: "You ought to be with us, Lady, thou who wert martyr and more than martyr, whom the lance of such great pain pierced, such constancy armed and so great love inflamed." "She responds, I will not leave you, children, but as a palm in Cades I will abide with you." The preacher then goes on to explain that by palm is meant victory, by Cades the martyrs. This is, in fact, about all the "dialogue" there is under any head, the bulk of the sermon being taken up with elucidations. The idea seems clearly borrowed from those dialogue elements of the Church liturgy which were the historical beginning of our modern drama.

Rothe* says that all the sermons of the Lenton series

*Rothe, R. Gesch. d. Predigt., Bremen, 1881, p. 244.

are conversations between the Christian and his good and evil angels. What he means by this it is impossible to say. It does not appear to be the fact, but it would be venturesome to say that the above are the only conversational sermons of Voragine, and there may be one or more overlooked among the Lenten sermons.

This series of sermons is, as a whole, perhaps, the least valuable of the three main series. But however Protestant a man may be, he would be very unresponsive not to profit, more or less, spiritually from the lessons of the strictly biographical sermons among them, sermons which bring out so practically, so soundly and often so charmingly the lessons of humility, self-sacrifice, love and devotion from the lives of good men and women.

With the sermons on the saints may, perhaps, be classed the *Mariale*. Formally speaking, the Sunday and Lenten sermons are nearer to those on the saints and with them make up a group, possibly a consistent series, all alike following the order of the church year. On the other hand, the *Mariale* is like the sermons on the saints, in its biographical motive and method. It finds personal qualities in the subject for the hearers to approve and imitate, and develops the topics in a way similar to those of the sermons on the saints.

This series comes last in Voragine's list, and may, therefore, have been composed last, but except for the position one would be tempted to assign it to that much earlier period in his life when the remarkable wave of Virgin worship was at its height, in the middle of the century. The work consists of 159 sermons on the various virtues or titles of the Virgin arranged alphabetically,

"Abstinence, Advocate, Aider," etc. She is an almond tree, a balsam, a cedar, a cinnamon, a cypress, an olive, a palm; she is the lily, rose and vine; she is moon and star, star of the morning and star of the sea; cloud and heaven itself; she is dove and lamb, myrrh and spikenard and galbanum, queen and empress, ivory and the pearl of God—and so on to the number of 144 in all, reminding one of the Litany of Loreto as now used in the Roman Catholic Church.

Although by the nature of things these sermons are more or less mystical, yet the treatment is less rhapsodical than that of many preachers on this theme. On the contrary, they are sometimes marked by the same excellencies of sanity, Scriptural treatment, and, to a degree of relative practicality, characteristic of Voragine's style in general. They often do not differ from the sermons which might be written on any Scripture character and are sometimes spiritually most suggestive. Take, for example, the twelfth sermon under V on the *Unity* between Christ and the Blessed Virgin, His mother. He says that there are four kinds of unity: first, that of man and wife; second, that of parent and child; third, the social unity between friend and friend; fourth, spiritual unity between the human spirit and God. This last was Mary's love for her son, to whom she was united by love, because she was wholly turned into love, as iron placed in the fire becomes itself wholly fire—only that her love was greater than this, because it could not be extinguished by the water of tribulation.

In the fifth sermon under the same letter, the *Words* (*verba*) of the Blessed Mary have, he says, five praise-

worthy aspects: first, they were not prolix but very few and brief; second, they were not lightly uttered but carefully premeditated; third, they were not forward but timid and modest; fourth, they were not careless but very discreet, "for he who speaks must see to it what, when, to whom, where, and how he speaks." He goes on to develop each topic as a subhead. The obvious practical thrusts of this sermon against garrulousness gain perhaps in piquancy what they lose in justice by being addressed especially to women. He says, for example, "that, considering to whom she should speak, she did not talk to any man, but to the angel of God, through which we are instructed that women should avoid talking to men. She considered *where* she should speak and did not talk in the market-place, but in the house, by which women are taught that they should not talk in public but should be taught by their husbands at home."

The sixth sermon under S is a typical example of the more metaphorical sort. The Virgin Mary is called a mirror (*speculum*) for four reasons: first, on account of the composition of the mirror which is of glass and lead, glass for her virginity, lead for its ductility and ashen color, which signify humility. . . . In the third place, she is called a mirror because of her representation of things, "for as all things are reflected from a mirror, so in the Blessed Virgin, as in the mirror of God, ought all to see their impurities and spots, and purify and correct them, for the proud, beholding her humility see their blemishes, the avaricious see theirs in her poverty, the lovers of pleasure theirs in her virginity."

In these sermons the place of the usual text is taken by some title or virtue of the Virgin Mary. They are thus in some sort topical, but although the text is absent from the beginning it is, after all, not far away, since each of the qualities treated is brought into relation with a text or texts somewhere on the divisions being drawn exegetically from the text.

The three sermons mentioned above all have their texts, so to speak, *passim*, each subheading having its text, as is in fact true of those which have a general text as well, but many of the sermons have also a general text. Thus the ninth under P, the Beauty of the Virgin Mary (*pulchritudo*) has the general text from first Canticles, "I am black but comely." Beauty he says is white for purity, black for humility, and red for love. Again, the first sermon under R, Queen of Heaven (*regina*) has the text from Psalm 44: "The queen stands at thy right hand"; and the fourth sermon on the Virgin Mary as a Rose has text from Ecclesiastic. 24, "As a garden of roses in Jericho."

The Sunday and the Lenten sermons which follow the sermons on the saints, and precede the Mariale, fall into a group together. They are both series of "gospel sermons" following the order of the Gospels for the Church year, and are alike in ranging over the whole field of general evangelical preaching. They are "general" sermons, as distinguished from those on the saints, on the doctrines, on the Virgin, or for visitations. As such they are the most interesting of all the sermons of this author, the most varied in character, and on the whole highest in quality. Of the two, the Lenten ser-

mons are perhaps the more mature and may be regarded as the high-water mark of Voragine's work, or at least the most typical representative of the whole range of his work, of any single series. One may open almost at haphazard in these and find within a few dozen pages examples of all the most characteristic styles. Open, for example, at the first sermon in the fourth day of the third week in Lent. This is a good example of the illustrative sermon; the following is rather allegorical; the next is noteworthy for its minute scholastic subdivision, and, skipping one, there is an admirable example of simple Scriptural exposition in the story of the Woman of Samaria.

These Lenten sermons consist of two sermons on the Gospel for the day, for each day from Ash-Wednesday until Tuesday after Easter—100 in all. From their position in the list of Voragine, as well as from a certain superiority to the others in maturity of style, it is fair to suppose that this volume was the last published of the great series of sermons.

The Sunday sermons come second in the list of Voragine, but in his Preface he shows a certain diffidence about publishing which seems more appropriate to one putting forth a maiden effort than to one who had already published a considerable series. He is led to their publication, he says, "not by any excess of rash daring, but by urgent importunity of the brethren," and he goes on to say "that he hopes that in spite of his slight knowledge and inadequate ability, divine goodness will supplement, brotherly love aid, and the sincere intention that I have excuse my imperfections."

This series consists of three sermons on each Sunday Gospel, as the Preface says, "in honor of the three persons of the Trinity, of the glorious Mother of God, and of the blessed Saint Dominic our father." In the chronicle Voragine, speaking of this series, makes no mention of the Virgin or St. Dominic, but seems to imply that the three sermons are in honor of the three persons of the Trinity. There are in all 158 of these Sunday sermons.

Almost every variety of general style may be found in these two series. There are sermons from a single text, sermons from a whole passage, and all sorts of thematic sermons. Some sermons are simple, direct, bare of all illustration save Scripture quotation; others are in the highly allegorical method so popular in the Middle Ages, where instead of the plain and direct interpretations, the most fanciful meanings are placed upon the words of the text, and these figures placed again upon all fours and carried to the extreme; and still others here and there are of scholastic elaborateness. Again, the sermons will be a shrewd mingling of all styles of good exposition, apt illustration, reasonable subdivision and sufficiently chastened metaphor.

An example of the common single verse sermon is on Wednesday of the fourth week, the second sermon: "He went, therefore, and washed and came seeing." When a man is spiritually illumined there are three signs: he enters the right way, washes away his spots, even the least of them, and thereupon he sees clearly.

Of the many examples of the sermon founded on the whole Gospel for the day, the first sermon on Saturday

of the second week in Lent will do as well as another. "In this Gospel," he says, "three things are to be noted: first, the going away of the sinner, when it is said 'he went away into a far country'; second, the conversion of the sinner, when it is said 'he returned to himself'; third, the gracious reception by God, when it is said 'his father saw him and moved with compassion.'"

An example of the thematic is the second sermon of Monday of the sixth week: "'I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all things unto myself.' Christ by His passion draws all things to Himself, that is, things terrestrial, things celestial, and things infernal—celestial by reconciling the Father, terrestrial by converting the Gentiles, infernal by freeing the holy Fathers who were in Limbo."

A good example of what may be called the simple expository style is the first sermon of the Friday of the third week in Lent on the fourth chapter of St. John. More than half of this sermon is taken up with the straightforward story of the "Samaritan Woman," so simply told as to be almost a paraphrase. Beside this, there is in the whole sermon by way of illustration only half a dozen quotations from Scripture, one anecdote, and one quotation from Augustine.

The use of Scripture quotation and quotation from the Fathers is common to all the sermons of all series, but sometimes quotations from the Scripture, which often number as many as thirty in a single short sermon, so predominate over other quotations for illustration as to produce what may be counted a special style of Scriptural or Scripture-quotation sermon, as the predominance

of anecdote over the others produces what may be called the anecdotal sermon. There are a number of sermons which have no illustrations save Scripture quotations, but these do not necessarily produce the Scripture-quotation style, although when the number rises above thirty, something like it is necessarily produced. An example of this Scripture style is found in the Lenten series in the first sermon on the day of the Lord's Supper, on the text "Let each prove himself, so shall he eat of the bread and drink of the cup." His final point is on the usefulness of the sacrament at the time of death. It contains but 144 words, and these include twelve quotations; "for the way," he says, "which the soul departing from the body must take is a darksome way. 'In my path he put darkness' (Job 19); it is a dangerous way, wherefore 'In the way in which I walked they laid a snare for me' (Ps. 141); it is a long way, 'A great way remains to you' (3 Kings 19); it is an unknown way, 'The way of the city of thy habitation they did not find' (Ps.). When, therefore, the body of Christ is given to souls about to die, they carry with them light for the illumination of the dark way: 'I am the light of the world' (John 12); likewise, 'Walk while ye have the light, lest the darkness overtake you' (John 8). They have with them a pugilist for defense 'against enemies: 'Put me 'beside thee, and who shall fight against me' (John 11 or Job 17); 'Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me' (Ps. 22, Vulg.) They have with them food for comforting them: 'Bread strengthening the heart of man' (Ps. 103); 'He walked in the strength of that food unto

Horeb, the mountain of God' (3 Kings 19). They have with them a leader to guide their way: 'The way mounted up, stretching out before them' (Mich. 2); 'He bringeth them unto their desired haven' (Ps. 106)."

An idea of Voragine's allegorical sermons may be had from the Sunday series for the third Sunday after the octave of Epiphany. All three are from the text (Matt. 8): "And when he was entered into the boat his disciples followed him." In the first of the three sermons the boat is of "penitence," since by it man is brought into the harbor of salvation; in the second, it is the "holy Church" which (following Chrysostom) (1) Sails the sea of this present life, (2) Has God for helmsman, (3) Angels for rowers, (4) All the saints for cargo, (5) Christ for mast, (6) Evangelical doctrine for sail, (7) The Holy Spirit for motive power, (8) Transports to the haven of Paradise. In the third sermon Jesus is entering (*ascendente*) or going up into the boat "that is his cross by which he passed over the sea of this present age." Concerning this boat of the cross he says five things are to be observed: (1) Its cause, (2) Its mast, (3) Its sail, (4) Its supercargo or merchant, (5) Its cargo or merchandise. Its cause is fourfold—efficient, material, formal and final. The efficient cause is the Holy Trinity, the material cause the four kinds of wood in the cross which signify the fourfold efficiency of the cross—cedar which drives away ill thoughts as its odor drives off snakes, cypress for constancy in trial and tribulation, the palm for victory and the olive to mitigate the bitterness of penitence, as its oil soothes wounds. In these four circumstances, he says, we are accustomed to

use the sign of the cross—when assailed by evil thoughts, in sudden peril, in pain or terror. The formal cause is that the ship is narrow in the bow, broad in the middle and narrow again at the stern. So of the cross. The final cause was in order that man might safely pass the sea of life, "For this world is a sea, a valley and a stream; therefore he prepared for us a cross as a boat, a ladder and a bridge." The cross is a boat to pass over the sea, a ladder with which to mount from the valley, a bridge across the stream. In the second place, the mast was Christ, who like the fruit of the cedar, is of triple substance—His most sweet divinity, His flesh full of bitterness, His soul full of suffering as regards His flesh, and of sweetness as regards His divinity. And, third, He was the sail wrought of white, of red, of gold—white for His earthly flesh, red His soul most fervent in love, gold for His most precious divinity; white for purity of His flesh, red for the love of His soul, gold for His divine majesty. And, fourth the supercargo, which is Christ, carries on the ship His bread, that is Himself; and, fifth, the cargo. The merchandise of this world is birth, labor and death. Christ gives and takes in this barter; takes from us what here abounds, birth, labor and death, gives in return regeneration, resurrection and eternal life.

A fair example of Voragine's anecdotal sermons is the first sermon of Wednesday in the third week of Lent. The last one-third of this sermon contains two points, expressed in less than two pages and illustrated by six illustrations. The point that we are led by natural instinct to honor our parents is shown by the example of

the daughter who kept her mother alive in prison, by the example of the swans which care for their parents while "vultures alone allow their parents to die of hunger," and the example of the Scythians who did not resent the destruction of their property, but declared that they would resist the desecration of their parents' tombs with all their power. Again, illustrating the saying that "It is that which proceeds from a man's mouth which defiles him," he gives illustrations from three ancient philosophers. When Socrates was asked why, among many talkers, he kept silent, he replied, "Because I have often repented my words, never having kept silent." Solon, also, when asked why he kept silence, whether because he did not know how to speak or because he was a fool, replied, "No fool can keep silence." Zeno-crates also, when asked the same question, replied, "Because we have received from nature one mouth, but two ears." He quotes also the philosopher who said to a talkative person, "If you should hear yourself with our ears you would keep silent." After this illustration Voragine tersely closes his sermon: "Therefore it is said, 'The silent man is counted wise, hateful the garrulous.'"

Perhaps a better example of the anecdotal sermon is the third sermon on the first Sunday after the octave of Epiphany, from the text "There was marriage in Cana of Galilee." The subdivisions are: (1) What sort of a wife one should marry, (2) how a good wife is to be recognized, (3) how she is to be loved, (4) how she is to be guarded, (5) how she is to be punished, and (6) how she shall live after her husband's death. There are a round dozen of anecdotes. (1) "Areolus" (Theo-

phrastus) is asked whether a wise man should marry, the upshot of his answer being that he should marry a good wife or none at all; (2) The same philosopher is again asked whether it is better to marry a beautiful or an ugly wife; (3) Esther the queen displeased Ahasuerus when she was painted, but when she came to him pale and tremulous she pleased him; (4) Themistius is asked whether he prefers a poor and learned son-in-law or one rich and ignorant; (5) Theophrastus is asked which is better, the poor and gentle wife or the rich and contentious one; (6) Theophrastus is asked whether a wife is to be guarded; (7) The stock illustration of Duellius and his bad breath; (8) Suicide of a Theban virgin; (9) Suicide of Lucretia; (10) Example of Marcia, daughter of Cato; (11) Example of Valeria; (12) The example of the widow Amica who did not wish another husband, because if good she would always be in fear of losing him, and if bad she would always be in misery on account of the contrast with his good predecessor. Beside these twelve anecdotes, the sermon is illustrated by quotations from Seneca, Sixtus, seven quotations from the Fathers, and as many from the Scripture.

It is only fair to Voragine, in this connection, where the theme necessarily puts him in a somewhat critical attitude toward marriage, to say that he repeatedly bears tribute in his sermons to human love, and encourages the mutual love of husband and wife: "That a man should love his wife from the heart is shown by the fact that woman was created from the part of his body nearest the heart, and that a wife should love her husband from

the heart is shown by the fact that the Church requires the ring upon the fourth finger of the bride—to which fourth finger the naturalists say a special vein proceeds directly from the heart.”

Rothe speaks of the sermons of Voragine as all given over to endless subdivisions and strongly scholastic in style. There are, in fact, examples of the extreme subdivision characteristic of the scholastic style; but among the printed sermons, at least, any great intricacy is rather rare. Although the majority of the sermons are laid off in one, two, three order, the skeleton is generally very clear and not so very complex. It may be the prejudice of a special student, but to characterize or classify the sermons of Voragine as scholastic seems distinctly misleading. The orderly method of the scholastic is there, but seldom the dryness of the true scholastic sermon.

Following is one of the most intricate of what may be called his scholastic sermons. It is the first sermon on Thursday of the third week in Lent. The text is the whole Gospel for the day, from Luke 4, the healing of Simon's wife's mother. “In this Gospel,” he says, “it is shown how Christ did three mighty deeds—one of power, one of pity, and one of wisdom.” The work of power was the healing. Under this heading three things are to be noted—the nature of the infirmity, the manner of curing, and the effects of the cure. Concerning the nature of the disease, which was a fever, it is to be observed that one characteristic of the fever-stricken is that sweet things seem bitter to their taste or tasteless, and contrarywise. So it is with the spiritual palate of the sinner—spiritual things are bitter or tasteless. Christ

shows this of three classes: 1. The luxurious: As the appetite of the lion is not roused by the sight of a green meadow because he eats flesh, not grass, so the luxurious do not long for spiritual things. 2. The proud: As rain falling upon a stone wets it outside but leaves it dry within, so the proud with their stony hearts are unmoistened by the rain of divine grace. 3. The avaricious: As a drop of honey falling into a jar full of vinegar loses its sweetness without making sweet the vinegar, so the avaricious who have hearts of vinegar are not sweetened by the divine word. The word is lost and their heart is not changed. In the second place is to be noted the manner of curing, that is by prayer. The sinner is (1) defiled; (2) hostile to God; and (3) lame. In the third place there is the effect of the cure: "Rising up she ministered unto them." The sinner ought not to remain in sin but to arise, otherwise he falls from sin to sin, and for three reasons: one, the heaviness of sin; two, the blindness of the sinner; three, a certain relation of cause and effect, through which avarice leads to robbery, gluttony to drunkenness, pride to violence, etc. The second mighty work, the work of pity, was the driving out of demons. The third mighty work, the work of wisdom, was the preaching of Christ. The outline may be represented graphically as follows: I. The work of power, (1) The nature of the infirmity, (a) the luxurious, (b) the proud, (c) the avaricious, (2) The manner of curing, (a) defilment, (b) hostility to God, (c) lameness, (3) The effect of the cure, (a) the heaviness of sin, (b) blindness of the sinner, (c) a certain relation of cause and effect; II. The second mighty work, the

work of pity; III. The third mighty work, the work of wisdom.

The Visitation sermons and Doctrinal sermons are mentioned in all the articles on Voragine, but none of his three biographers seem to have seen either series. The former, at least, are in fact extant in a manuscript at Florence which contains several works certainly by Voragine, and others possibly or probably by him.* This is number two of the manuscript. Number three, following these sermons on occasion of visitations to the Religious, is a treatise "On the education of the religious," and this is extant also in another manuscript. The Visitation sermons include fifty-three discourses more or less, the first being appropriately from the text (John 14), "I have chosen you out of the world." Number six of this work is rather brief for the Doctrinal sermons, but may perhaps be this series, since the final page contains a sort of *Index expurgatorius* of "Opinions in the work not commonly held by moderns." One would like to see what this man, who was *par excellence* "The Theologian" of his region in his time, had to say on doctrine, for there is surprisingly little of it except by inference in his printed works. What there is is often expressed more poetically than dogmatically, *e.g.*, a notion of the Person of Christ: "For musical sound comes by the action of wind in a musical instrument. The wind is divinity, the musical instrument the body of our Lord,

*The rather cursory examination made of this manuscript would have been made much more thorough if it had been realized at the time that it contained such important material and that no other manuscript of several of the treatises would turn up.

and from this double nature, divine and human, arises that musical sound—the name of Jesus” (Eph. 5).

Besides the long series of sermons there are several occasional ones extant, of which two are accessible in the printed volumes. These are, one on the “Passion of our Lord,” and the other on the “Lament of Mary,” both printed with the Lenten sermons. The latter of these is about five times as long as the usual sermon, and the former nearly ten times. It is an interesting fact, however, that the sermon on the “Passion” is divided into six sections of approximately equal length, each one being, therefore, not so very much longer than the longest of the other sermons. As a whole, it contains about 15,000 words, and being so much longer than the longest of the sermons in the series, it raises the question whether the latter are, in fact, so much sermons as sermon abstracts, as they and similar sermons by other authors of the times are often described to be. On the other hand, the shorter sermons have all the appearance, short and meaty as they are, of finished sermons, and are grouped, not one sermon a day, but at least two, and at times four or five and even more. Doubtless the preaching in that day consisted, as the visitor to the cathedral in Genoa finds it to-day, in a series of sermons, or parts, ten or fifteen minutes long and separated by intervals of two or three minutes, during which the preacher sits to rest or kneels for silent prayer. Both the breaks in the long sermon and the groups of short ones are doubtless to be explained on this ground. It may also be that the shorter sermons were expanded on occasion, especially in popular preaching, or they may, like those of Robertson, be the condensations from longer

extemporaneous sermons. It may quite likely be, however, that, whether preached by himself or read by someone else to the Brothers, the sermons were delivered precisely in their published form when preached to the Religious. It will be remembered that Voragine often in his sermons deprecates, severely at times, all loquaciousness, redundancy and repetition, and, after all, the length of the average sermon is about that of the alleged imperial German rule for the ideal sermon, *i.e.*, eight to twelve minutes.

Besides his sermons Voragine made at least three contributions to sermon writing: a treatise, or at least chapters, on the art of preaching, a treatise on the art of speaking and a book of pulpit aids.

The writers on Voragine mention a treatise on the art of preaching, but put it among those works ascribed whose existence is doubtful. There are, however, two works in manuscript which, if they do not exactly correspond to this title, at least, taken together, cover the ground. Both of these are at Florence, and one of them is in the same manuscript with the Visitation sermons. This one has no heading. The contents are various and may include two or three works—the Gospel History, *e.g.*, as well as the art of preaching. In any event, it has chapters “On preaching—What sort is pleasing to God and what sort to the devil,” “On the usefulness of preaching,” “On the nature of preaching as it should be,” “On those who listen to preaching.” The other work is extremely interesting as the only known work in Italian which is probably written in the vernacular by Voragine and bears his name as author as well. His

authorship of the Italian Bible has been doubted, and at any event we have no evidence to connect him with existing translations. The Golden Legend was translated into Italian at a date very early, perhaps as early as during his lifetime, but we have no evidence that he was the translator. But this treatise, "A Short Theory of Elocution" (*Brevis doctrina de modo loquendi*), is in archaic Italian, with his name as author, and is bound with another short work, probably by him, also in Italian, whose illustrations, taken in connection with the handwriting, point to as early a date as perhaps his own lifetime, and, unless there is evidence to the contrary, may, with his reputation for elegant Italian, be supposed to have been composed by him in Italian. The title is in Latin, but the text is Italian and treats of six things which are to be considered by a speaker: 1. Who art thou that speakest; 2. What wouldst thou say; 3 To whom thou art to speak; 4. The reason why; 5. How thou wouldst and shouldst speak; 6. The time of speaking.

The book of sermon aids is number four in that same Florentine manuscript to which reference has been made. It is called a "Book of motetts which may be introduced into and mingled with sermons, at the discretion of the preacher." There are fifty-eight topics "On goodness," "On almsgiving," "On wealth," etc. It does not appear from the brief notes made just what the nature of this work is. It can hardly be the motett proper, and one can only guess whether it is a collection of quotations or illustrations, but it would seem clear that it would fall somewhere under the head of pulpit aids.

The spirit of his preaching and his teaching regarding preaching comes up here and there in the sermons. He says, for example, "three things commend a preacher—a holy life, unflagging teaching, and an instructed and numerous spiritual progeny." Again he says, "the Holy Spirit descended on the apostles in tongues of flame, because a preacher must have a tongue of flame for inflaming." Again he rebukes those "lazy preachers" who do not have the words of God in their mouths for preaching, but hide them in their hearts through laziness and inertia.

Whatever may be the fact regarding the intrinsic merit of Voragine's sermons judged by the canons of taste of our own time, or their relative merit to those of other preachers of the olden times, two facts stand out distinctly: (1) The sermons were, beyond a doubt, uncommonly popular in his own time and for centuries afterward, and (2) they were, it is well established, practically effective for a great movement in the "reformation of morals," and to the point of constraining passionate men to lay aside their quarrels.

Looking for the secret of this effectiveness, it is to be noted in the first place that, like most very effective preaching, it was intensely Scriptural in its character. It is true that the preachers of his time were generally rich in Scripture quotation;—they were the more effective for that, each in proportion to the richness and skill of application. Voragine certainly excelled both in quantity and skill of use. There is in his sermons, on an average, a Scripture quotation in every eighty words, at times even thirty words. If it be true that he translated

the Bible into Italian, his mastery of texts from every book in the Bible is not suprising, especially in view of his manifest and recorded prodigious memory for quotation in general.

It is said of him that he committed to memory all the works of Augustine—a statement to be taken with a large grain of allowance when it is remembered that he himself made a whole, if little, book of what is not more than a bibliographical list of Augustine's works. But he undoubtedly did have a remarkable command of his works for quotation, and a hardly less facile command of a prodigious range of sacred and secular writings. A second element of his effectiveness may therefore be said to be the range and aptitude of his quotations.

Again, something may be said for his free and apt use of anecdote, metaphor and simile. His anecdotes, like his quotations, are always pat and often have a flavor of humor which may well justify Father Barry's passing description of him as "the witty Jacobus da Voragine." It is a familiar fact that the allegorical style and all use of figures is effective in popular preaching.

No doubt, too, another element was the variety of his style. A glance at the examples of sermons mentioned above shows his versatility in this regard, and this feature was, no doubt, then as now, one of the secrets of holding popular attention.

But when everything has been said in favor of illustration, neither quotation nor anecdote nor figure of any sort is in itself fundamental. Sermons may have all of these elements and be dull to the verge of boredom, or have none of them and yet be interesting and effective.

As a matter of fact, many of the sermons of Voragine are quite without illustration save Scripture quotation, and yet have power and even charm in high degree. The essence of Voragine's power must therefore be sought within these narrowest limits of the sermon without illustration.

It is probable that the clearness of outline and subdivisions which brought on him the reproach of scholasticism may have contributed something to effectiveness, but this certainly does not explain charm.

In the last analysis the secret lies, and must lie, in that "style which is the man." Of this style two or three elements may be analyzed out—to be interpreted in the light of the man's own character, which is the secret weight behind all words.

One element of this style is to be found in clearness and the suppression of the superfluous. That redundancy which is the commonest reproach of the layman against the pulpit is almost utterly absent. He says a thing and then lets go of it. It may be said that this is because these are condensed sermons, but the same thing is true of his style in his longest ones, and he frequently preaches the doctrine. It is fair, therefore, to say that this quality is both real and conscious.

Closely allied with this freedom from repetitiousness is the terseness of his language, which has frequently almost the value of epigram.

But the secret of secrets probably lies in the directness and unaffected naturalness of his speech, or what a recent writer on the Golden Legend calls its naïveté—its simplicity, in short. It is doubtful if analysis of style can

go further than this. If a man has this he has style. With simplicity of speech a man tells for what he is. His very self flows out in his words.

It is worth while noting, therefore, what manner of man the preacher himself was. A remarkable executive, Provincial, Archbishop, diplomat, the chief glory of Voragine in the eyes of posterity is that he was Peacemaker. As such, beatified, he is invoked in the Roman Church to-day. Learned to the extreme, Master at least, and Professor, nicknamed *The Theologian* on account of his learning, his own great zeal was for the reformation of morals; he became master of the language of the common people in order to reach them, he wrote the *Golden Legend* and the *Virtues and Vices* for them and not for the learned, he parted with his Countship of San Remo for their sakes, and in time of famine sold even his necessary furniture for their relief. The spirit of the man appears in his sermons. Although belonging rather to the practical than to the mystical tendency he is constantly speaking of "being inflamed with love for Christ," "for love is fire." "Love is strong as fire; it inflames love, inflames word, inflames deed." "Wholly inflamed with the love of God." Of loving one's enemies he says, "If any one shall pray for all the faithful and from those general prayers exclude his enemies, he is not in a state of salvation"; and again, "For the perfect should pray for their enemies, not merely in a general way but specifically." His work as peacemaker was merely the carrying out of his own precepts. He is never tired of preaching forbearance and humility, which may possibly be characterized as his favorite theme, although he is not therefore

a "peace at any price" man by any means. "The water of the Holy Spirit," he says, "flows not in the mountains of the proud, but in the valley of the humble"; "The way to meet the angry is to be patient, to keep silent, to answer with pacific words, to leave them, to confer benefits on them"; "The duty of a bishop is to chastise the erring, cherish the good, pacify the quarrelsome, encourage the timorous"; "The prelate ought always to humble himself in all things before God," and to be humble in the presence of all men save of the proud whose pride it is his duty to break. He is not indifferent to the duty of chastising the erring and rebuking the proud, and he faithfully rebukes the lazy and erring among his friars and those heretics "who have more faith in fables than in the divine word."

When it is said that a man of imagination and humor has burning love, deep humility and uncompromising hatred of pride and sloth, what more can be said of his character? The man behind the words of these sermons is a man burning with love to God, tender toward his fellow-men, loving peace and the middle way, but hating oppression and evil, and, above all, having that rare "touch" with the real people's people which only a man of imagination and humor, love, humility and toleration can have.

The best way to get an idea of Voragine's preaching is to read a sermon in full. The following from the Lenten series is therefore given as showing several of his styles. Without being anything very exceptional, it gives a fair idea of the average length and style:

The third day of the first week, the first sermon, in which it is shown that the Church is built for God to dwell in and for man to pray in. The text is Matt. xxi. 18: "My house shall be called the house of prayer." Whenever our Lord went up to Jerusalem He used to go at once to the temple, thereby teaching us that when we go to any place we ought at once to go to church. When He went into the temple He cast out thence all those who bought or sold. The priests had from avarice allowed sheep and oxen and doves to be sold in the porch of the temple, in order that none might be obliged to omit sacrifices for lack of a victim. And since perhaps some might not have the right change for buying, they set up money-changers to provide it for them. But Christ having made a whip of small cords drove them all out. As Saint Jerome says: "Among all the miracles that Christ did this was the mightiest, that one man should have the power to cast out sellers and buyers and overturn the tables of the money-changers and the seats of those who sold doves; and it is a marvel that the Jews allowed these things to be done. Concerning this Jerome says, that from the face of Christ proceeded a certain wonderful dazzling brightness which terrified all so that they did not dare contradict Him.

Nowhere else but here do we read of His inflicting punishment. He often heard things which He disapproved, often bore wrongs, but never sought to punish the aggressors save here. And the reason is that the other wrongs were against Him, therefore he was unwilling to punish. This, however, was a wrong done His Father and therefore He punished it sternly, to teach us that we ought to forgive our own wrongs but severely to punish God's wrongs. We, however, generally do just the opposite since, we take little heed to God's wrongs while we relentlessly avenge our own.

It was when Christ was casting out the sheep and oxen from the temple that He uttered the words of the text, "My house shall be called the house of prayer." From this text it is to be understood that the Church of God is built for a double purpose—first, for God to dwell in (and therefore He says "My house," i.e., chosen by Me for a dwelling place) and then for man to pray in (and therefore it is added it shall be called the house of prayer).

The Church is therefore the house of God because He dwells in it, as it is said, (2 Chron. viii) "For now have I chosen and hallowed this house, that my name may be there forever, and mine eyes and mine heart shall be there perpetually. My eyes also shall be open and my ears outstretched to the prayer of him who shall pray in this place." From these words it is to be understood that God puts in the Church His name, His heart, His eyes and His ears. He places His name there: since He wishes it to take its name from Him. For as the house in which the proud dwell may be called the house of Lucifer, and the house in which usurers dwell the house of Mammon, and the house

where the immoral live the house of Asmodeus, and as taverns may be called the house of Beelzebub, since where there is much food there will be swarms of flies, so the house in which the faithful dwell and the devout gather together is called the house of God: (Gen. xxviii) "This is none other than the house of God."

In the second place God puts His heart in the Church, that is His love. And therefore He takes it very ill when any one does anything forbidden there, as is evident from this occasion when he cast out of the temple the sellers and buyers. We read in the histories that Pompey converted the porch of God's temple into a stable for his horses, and whereas up to this time he had always been victorious over his enemies, he never afterward fought without being beaten.

Third. God puts His eyes in the Church: with these He beholds the knees bowed in prayer and the almsgivings, and with these also He sees displays of ornaments and vanities. As Ambrose says, "He who would be heard in prayer let him lay aside display before he bows himself, that he may provoke God's compassion. For proud attire neither obtains anything nor gains ready approval. The more, e.g., a woman seems to human eyes to be splendid the more she is displeasing to God." We read that when Esther, the queen, adorned and painted herself to please King Ahasuerus, she, on the contrary, drove the King into a rage, but with her ruddy color changed to paleness she pleased him. So it is that when a woman paints her face she offends God, but when she takes no thought of her face she pleases God.

Fourth. God puts His ears in the Church, in that with them He hears the prayers of the devout: "I heard thy prayers and I saw thy tears" (Isa. xxxviii). With His ears He also hears the words of the backbiters. We read of St. Sixtus, Bishop of Genoa, that once upon a time, when he was in church, he was provoked to loud laughter, saying that he had seen a demon who was writing down the words of those who were talking in church. And when the vellum gave out and he tried to lengthen it with his teeth, the sheet broke suddenly and his head struck the wall so violently that the sound of the collision could be heard and his head was cut open.

He hears also those priests and monks who sing carelessly and omit from the service many Psalms and readings. We read that a certain holy monk saw a certain demon named Titivillus running about among the monk's benches and apparently gathering up something and putting it in a sack. On demand of the holy man, he said he was collecting the omissions from the Psalms, and that he was accustomed to fill his sack one thousand times every single day. Wherefore some one has made out of these verses after this fashion:

"Fragments of the Psalms,
Titivillus collects of them,
Daily a thousand
Times he loads himself."

In the second place the Church is built for worship, for God willingly hears the prayers of the faithful praying in the Church—wherefore it is said, "Whosoever shall pray in this place, let him be heard from thy dwellingplace" (2 Chron. vi). Nevertheless (Beda says) from three causes it happens that prayers are not heard—

1. When we ask unworthy things, that is, things which are not seemly or good for us to have. Such are temporal things. As Chrysostom says, "Seek those things from God which are expedient for you to have, and befitting for Him to give." If, moreover, you always ask earthly things, either you will get them with difficulty, or perchance not get them at all. For wherefore shall He willingly give to you, who have them not, those things which, if you should have, He would admonish you to despise. We read in the fables of the poets that Midas the king sought from his god Apollo that whatever he should touch should become gold, and his prayer was granted him. When, therefore, he would touch food or drink with his hands or his lips, at once it would be turned into gold and he died of hunger. By this we are given to understand that the avaricious man always desires riches, which nevertheless are the cause of his death, as it is said, "Those who wish to become rich fall into divers temptations and into the snare of the devil, and into many hurtful lusts which sink man to destruction and perdition."

2. Prayers are not heard when we seek unworthily, i.e., while committing any crime: (Es. i 15) "When ye make many prayers I will not hear: your hands are full of blood"; (Lam. iii.44) "Thou hast covered thyself with a cloud that our prayer shall not pass through"; (Zech. v. 7) "And he cast the weight of lead upon the mouth of the ephah and he said, this is wickedness." From these we gather that sin is like blood, like a cloud, and like lead. Since, then, sin is like blood it therefore defiles prayer, so that one may not dare appear before the face of the Lord. Since, moreover, sin is like a cloud therefore it darkens prayer, and one is unable to proceed upon the way of the Lord. Since, finally, sin is like lead, therefore it weighs down prayer so that it cannot rise to heaven.

3. Our prayers are not heard because we pray for sinners who are still sinning: (Jo. ix) "Now we know that God heareth not sinners"; (Jer. xv. 1) "Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be toward this people."

We read in the *Lives of the Fathers* an illustration of this: that when

a certain friar was sorely tempted and a certain holy man prayed for him and yet the temptation did not leave him, the holy father saw in a revelation from God that Asmodeus was showing himself in various shapes before that brother and he, so far from resisting, welcomed them. He saw also an angel chiding the brother because he did not resist and because he did not help himself. Then the father said to the brother, "I have found the reason why the prayers which I have offered for you have not been heard: it is because you are not worthy. You ought therefore to help yourself, to discipline your body and to resist temptations." When the friar had done this he was cured.

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CHAPTER V

A Teacher of Preachers

THIS university studies ended, Varagine became himself a teacher. "He kept open school," the Breviary says, "though private in his own house". This was in the natural course of events. He had been sent away in order to qualify as teacher; otherwise he might have pursued his studies at home. Every Dominican convent had its school and this school was sufficient for its inmates except for those who were themselves to become teachers. For such, by the rules of the Order, a university degree was necessary, though curiously enough these same rules decreed that a man should not be called by the titles which he gained with the degree, nor allow himself to be called by them, whether master, doctor, bachelor or lector. This was because the earliest preachers were told, "Call no man Rabbi, since One is your Master". This rule was not by any means always kept, but it was well enough kept to explain why these titles are so seldom used by the friars and by Varagine. He is, however, called Doctor, Master and Lector, at one time or another, and any one of these titles, if properly used, means that he had earned his teaching license. It does not necessarily follow that he had earned all of them, as they were used loosely and more or less interchange-

ably. If he truly had any one he might have been called by all three. On the other hand, the mere fact of teaching even privately, means that he had earned one of the titles. Strictly speaking a "Doctor" at that time meant a doctor of canon law and specifically a Doctor of Bologna, while Master implied a Paris degree in theology.

Although Varagine now "kept school" for the first time in the full sense, he was not new to teaching. He had in fact necessarily taught as bachelor during the preceding three years and perhaps had taught some for five years of his preparation. The university at that period was normal school as well as university and what a man learned one year he might sometimes teach the next and throughout his own studies. At any event, by 1251, or a little later, Varagine had acquired his license and begun his professional career as teacher. This was probably in his home convent at Genoa, as his biographers generally claim, although this is not necessarily implied in the phrase "in his own house", which doubtless means simply teaching in a Dominican convent rather than in the open university. Even at Paris and Bologna, Cologne and Oxford, the Dominican student took the major part of his studies in his own convent. A large part of the brilliant Dominican teaching at Paris e. g. was in the convent of St. Jacques and by those who were not licensed to teach openly in the university. These lectures were open in the sense of admitting others than members of the convent, although not public in the sense of being under general university auspices. A rule of the Order required that the doctors' lectures should

always be open to the members of the secular clergy if they chose to attend and provided that they might be open to other outsiders as well.

The Dominican convent schools, too, in those days were often the center of the popular elementary education of their various communities as well as of the higher grades of learning, and there are some references in Varagine's works which seem to point to this. In one of his sermons (Serm. dom. v. 93) e. g. he speaks of three grades with which the schoolmaster has to deal in school keeping—the beginners and intermediate, both of which classes he teaches only through submasters and a third grade, consisting of those who are "perfect and apt to understand profound matters" whom he teaches himself.

The school of Varagine's convent, wherever it was, doubtless included all three grades, the highest being that for the education of the clergy, in which department the Doctor taught personally.

From the customs of the times and more especially from his own writings, one may get a pretty full idea of what Varagine taught in his school. His teaching was, to begin with, ostensibly wholly on religious subjects, for secular literature and even philosophy was strictly barred by a series of drastic prohibitions by the General chapter of the Order. The grade which Varagine taught was thus strictly a theological school, in which he might have had the help of the prior at times or even other help, but of which he was in the main the faculty, teaching the whole range of theological studies of the time—Biblical history, patristics, doctrine,

ethics, the art of rhetoric and the art of preaching.

There is a wealth of material for glimpsing the substance of his teaching. On nearly all of the main topics taught there are extant one or more treatises by him, and there is even a general treatise on practical monastic education. All of the writings, however, with one trifling exception, unlike his *Sermons*, *Chronicle* and *Legendary*, have never been printed, and even the one exception is extremely rare and seems not to have been reprinted since 1504. Most of these have even been lost to sight and their very existence doubted, but several have happily been located again and even a cursory glance over the compactly written manuscripts gives a suggestive picture of the breadth and quality of Varagine's teaching. The substance and spirit of these can, moreover, be illustrated with a good deal of vividness from passages out of his published sermons and the *Legend*.

His general work on monastic education is called simply "*De eruditione religiosorum*"—On the education of monks. While the final form of the work no doubt belongs to the later period, when he as Provincial was for fifteen years superintending education in all the houses of his Order in North Italy, this latest form is nevertheless, if one may judge by the experience of other teachers, only the maturing and systematizing of what he had thought out during these first years when his own professional occupation was teaching the Religious, and it may be taken as showing the undoubted spirit and method of his teaching at this time.

In the prologue to this work he says that he has under-

taken the task because many evils have resulted from the lack of learning in the monasteries. The first of these is, he says, the blindness which comes from ignorance and of this he enumerates ten aspects. The second is the lack of spiritual gifts on the part of those who are unwilling to become instructed for "unlearned men lack spiritual riches" and so on. Therefore he gathers together matters which relate to the monastic state, in such way that the Religious may easily learn. In six books he treats of the worldly state, of discipline, of safeguards against the wiles of the devil, of ordination, of one's relations to one's neighbors, and of the quietness which is in God. In the section on one's relations to one's neighbors, he treats of "good society". As to this matter he says, "Evil companionship is to be strictly avoided, solitude is to be feared and good society is to be loved and chosen. . . ." Society is a great aid to salvation if it is good and a great hindrance if it is evil, and the better the society the more dangerous it is. Since, therefore, the best society is companionship in religion, the salvation of one fallen from religion is much more difficult than in secular society. "Solitude," he says, "is especially to be feared by weak and inexperienced men." Under the "love of enemies" he gives considerations tending if, as he says, they are diligently observed, to make this love of one's enemies easier than it is usually supposed to be.

The sixth treatise is "The peace of mind which is in God, the most excellent of all goods enjoyed by the people of God." In four books he shows that there is no real peace or quietness of mind apart from God, treats

of the increase of peace, sets forth hindrances and tells of the things which tend to produce this peace—poverty of spirit, temperance, gentleness, and so on. He then treats of prayer, at length in many chapters, of the fruit of reading, of the love of wisdom, and of meditation, distinguishing meditation from cogitation and contemplation. Everything is divided and subdivided to the last degree and laid out in the extreme method of the scholastics. Indeed this proved very puzzling to the copyist and more so to the rubricist so that between them they make the reading of this work somewhat hard.

With this work, rather than under the head of preaching, perhaps should be put the Visitation sermons, which in fact precede this treatise in a Florentine manuscript. They include fifty or more discourses, the first being appropriately from the text—John 15:19, "I chose you out of the world."

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of his teaching to a modern is the prominence which he gives to Biblical study. There is nothing more unexpected to the conventional Protestant who assumes that the Bible was discovered by Luther in 1522 or at earliest by Erasmus in 1516, than to find how much the Bible was studied during this century both in the popular schools and in the universities. As a matter of fact it played much the same part in the reformation within the Church which made this century great, that the Luther Bible did in the Protestant Reformation.

The life of Saint Clare in Caxton's translation of the Golden Legend gives a charming glimpse of the spirit of the times in this matter. Although this was probably

not written by Varagine, it is his spirit, as it was that of St. Clare, whom he doubtless knew and of the times which were his times. Clare's passion for "purveying to her daughters the word of God by devout preaching" was his passion, her sorrow when she "might not have that which was needful, which was the nurture of Holy Scripture" was his sorrow, and her wish to have the friars "nourish her and her sisters with the word of God" was of the very essence of his desire and teaching. To him the antithesis of ignorance is not learning but learning in the Scriptures. "Preachers", he says, "ought (Serm. dom. p. 377) to heal the wounded soul with the medicine of speech, to nourish the living spirit with the Bread of Bible words".

The two themes to which he loves best to return in his instructions to preachers are first this matter of Bible knowledge, and second, the need of having the preacher's life correspond with his preaching.

Varagine's great contribution in the matter of Bible teaching was his translation of the Bible into the vernacular, but many of his works encourage Bible study and at least four of these are apparently in effect Bible studies, historical and doctrinal, intended for instruction of the friars. One of these is a so-called Bible History. There are several manuscripts at Oxford and Cambridge which seem to correspond to the work in sixty sections and three hundred and nine chapters of which his biographers speak under this name. It is also called the Book of Distinctions, or Distinctions with Allegories. The main sections of this are on such topics as abstinence, adulation, friendship (*amicitia*), angels, apostles. . . .

Christ's passion, poverty. . . . These are alphabetically arranged—a favorite method with Varagine who applies it also to his sermons on the Virgin Mary, and, so it is said, to an "Alphabet of decrees". The rubrics under abstinence run as follows: first, I beat my body; second, If we live after the flesh, etc. The second of these works is a fragmentary treatise in seventy-four sections which may possibly be related to the "Doctrinal sermons" and the third written "for the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ and the edification of many" is in fact a sort of Gospel history. This contains chapter sections on the "Saviour of the world, His origin and His passion," etc. Still another work contains one hundred and fifty-eight topics such as "confession", "the Body of Christ", "the death of the Saints", etc., in the same vein.

It might be supposed from the fact that Varagine is said to have been called by his fellows "The Theologian", that doctrinal teaching was his strong point, but this does not stand out very much in his writings. What there is of it in his sermons is often expressed more in a literary than a scholastic form, and his doctrinal works are confined chiefly to a set of unpublished doctrinal sermons and a list of "magisterial opinions not commonly held by modern masters," which seem in the manuscript perhaps to be connected with the doctrinal sermons. As a matter of fact the term "Theologian" could hardly have been in the narrower sense and must have referred to his general theological learning, biblical, historical and patristic, rather than doctrinal.

His reputation for patristic learning was formidable,

but his only extant work directly in this field is one on St. Augustine whose works he is reported to have known by heart. This is printed but is so rare as to be unknown, save by title to most of his biographers, and proves on examination to be not much more than a bibliographical list of Augustine's writings. If this represents his method of teaching it was a dry one, but more likely the *Golden Legend* and his *Sermons*, both of which are crowded with quotations from the Fathers, represent his teaching method more justly.

As the Dominican Order was by name and nature above all things an Order of Preachers, the teaching of the convent school was above all things a teaching to preach. Doctrine and history and Bible alike were all taught and always with very practical reference to the use of this material in preaching. However much, therefore, Varagine himself may have excelled in pure learning, he must have been by the nature of the case more interested and efficient still in the teaching of preaching, and the use of learning for this end. Several of his published works in fact relate directly to instruction in this art, and his *Sermons to the Religious* are full of practical hints and exhortations on the subject. The extant contributions include a treatise, or at least chapters, on the art of preaching, a book of pulpit aids and various sermons on preaching. With these may also perhaps be grouped a treatise on the art of rhetoric in the Italian—if indeed this is by him.

A treatise *On the Art of Preaching*, often mentioned among the lost works of Varagine, is probably to be found in a certain Florence manuscript, without title,

but with chapters "On preaching: what sort is pleasing to God and what sort to the devil", "On the usefulness of preaching", "On the nature of preaching as it should be", "On those who listen to preaching".

The book of sermon aids is No. 4, in the same manuscript. It is called a "Book of motetts which may be introduced into, and mingled with sermons at the discretion of the preacher." There are fifty-eight topics "On goodness", "On almsgiving", "On wealth", etc.

If one may judge of his lectures on preaching by his sermons on preaching, these were pungent enough and one may at least be sure that the line of teaching and the spirit were the same. What this spirit was is well suggested in two sermons addressed especially to preachers, one of the preaching of John the Baptist, (Serm. dom. adv. IV, 2 serm p. 44 sq.), and the other on preachers as fishermen (Serm. dom. V. post. trin., serm 2, p. 88 sq.)

The first of these is on the text: "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, prepare ye the way of the Lord". John was sent, he said, for three things, to precede, to proclaim, and to direct. The preacher is first a voice. A perfect voice is high, distinct and well modulated. High that it may suffice to reach on high, distinct that it may fill the ears of the hearers, well modulated that it may conciliate the minds of the hearers. Anyone who lacks any one of these qualities does not have a perfect voice.

John, he says, was a lofty preacher, because he preached of high and heavenly themes, the first of all in Holy Scripture to mention the kingdom of heaven.

So the modern preacher to be a voice like John must not condescend to earthly convenience nor human favor, but lift himself up to God. Again John was a clear, distinct and sonorous voice, in that he preached the truth of faith and his preaching was not hindered by his conduct. To be a clear voice a preacher must live a holy and magnanimous life. Preaching in word and not in deed is preaching in muffled voice. Whatever a preacher thinks or says or does should be of eternal things.

Again the voice of John was pleasing especially when he spoke with good men—masculine and fervent with the people, bold with the king, gentle in conference with his own disciples. So the preacher should be a well modulated voice to preach fervently to the lukewarm, gently towards the devout, and wisely toward all. Words are the notes of the passions which are in the soul; they are signs therefore that the heart is inflamed with the fire of divine love, sweetened with the honey of inward devotion, and illuminated with the light of wisdom. As there were in the ark of Moses a rod and manna and tables of stone, so the preaching should be a switch for sharp correction of the lukewarm, the manna of sweet exhortation to the devout and the tables of discretion towards all.

Again the preacher is one crying out in the wilderness. A man cries out when he is speaking to some one far off or speaking to the deaf or speaking with anger. Preachers should cry out not only with the mouth, but with the utmost fervor of heart, first when they speak to sinners when they are far away from God. Sinners are also deaf because they will not hear the word of

God, they close their ears with earth. In the third place preachers ought to cry out as with holy anger, for we owe to a sinner, to have love, hatred, and compassion. We ought to love him for his natural self, hate his sin, and have compassion for him on account of the danger in which he is placed.

Finally preachers must prepare the way of the Lord. This way may be circular, oblique or straight. The love of temporal things revolves in a circle of seven day repetitions and never reaches the eighth. The oblique way is that of the vainglorious who wish to be seen and praised of men. The straight way is the way of the humble and gentle. The straight path is that whose middle point is the shortest distance from both extremes. God is the maker, the beginning and the end. That preacher, therefore, it is who prepares his way, who recognizes that all things are from God, who directs all his labors to Him and is intent solely on pleasing Him.

Again in his sermon on preachers as fishermen he says that preachers are called in Scripture fishers, hunters, and husbandmen. The earlier preachers were like fishermen because with one drawing out of the net they sometimes converted a great multitude of men, but modern preachers are like hunters who with much labor and outcry sometimes manage to catch a single animal, that is to convert one soul. To be sure, he says, the modern preachers may be called fishermen, for while some fishermen catch many fish like the old preachers, so they sometimes catch few like the modern preachers, and the reason why they catch few may be either the fault of the fishermen or the fault of the fish. If the

fault be on the part of the fishermen it may have any one of four reasons: they fish at the wrong time, they fish too deep, they fish with poor tackle or broken nets, or they fish in the wrong place. Those who fish among riches, pleasures, and honor, are fishing in the wrong place. Those who look for death-bed repentances, or try to instruct others when they themselves are ignorant are fishing at the wrong time. Those who look for money or honor throw their hooks too low, and those who preach in word, while their lives do not correspond, fish with broken nets.

There are three cases, too, where the trouble is with the fish: they may be too clever and avoid nets, they may be too slippery like eels, or they may be so small that they get through the meshes. The proud, the vicious, the avaricious, avoid entering the net of preaching for fear their vices may be caught or they break the net. The more a man sins the more slippery he becomes as to preaching, and those whose hearts are so small that they fear the difficult, slip through the nets. There are three kinds of persons who do not fear to conduct their affairs because of adverse circumstances, soldiers, husbandmen, and business men. Therefore, preachers should not fear to contend against vices for they are the soldiers of Christ, or to sow good seed because they are God's husbandmen, nor to fear that they will not have talent for getting gain of souls for they are the King's business men.

The spirit of Varagine's preaching and his teaching regarding preaching, crops up often here and there elsewhere in the sermons. He says for example, "three

things commend a preacher—a holy life, unflagging teaching, and an instructed and numerous spiritual progeny.” Again he says, “the Holy Spirit descended on the Apostles in tongues of flame because a preacher must have a tongue of flame for inflaming.” Again he rebukes those “lazy preachers” who do not have the words of God in their mouths for preaching, but hide them in their hearts through laziness and inertia.

The holy life as a prerequisite for preaching appears at every turn in his teaching and this teaching took a most practical form when he, as Provincial Prior, undertook the work of re $\overline{f}$ orming the convents, and again when as Archbishop he made his very first concern a council for the reformation of morals in the churches.

The outstanding fact as to his teaching of preaching as it is the outstanding fact of the preaching of the times, is that it is Scripture preaching. The good preaching of this period was, it is said, saturated with Scripture. “a fact which is preeminently true of Varagine.” He practiced what he preached about preaching.

The spirit in which Varagine carried on his teaching may be gathered from a philosophy of learning and a philosophy of teaching both of which are to be found in his Dominical sermons.

His philosophy of learning includes an outline or encyclopedia of learning. In his Dominical sermons 13.2 he gives the scheme of classification on which he founded his system of teaching. “All science,” he says, “is divided into three classes: physics or natural science, ethics or moral science, and logic or rational science.” This is the system of St. Bonaventura distinguished from the so-

called scholastic system of Varagine's other contemporaries, Albertus, Scotus, Aquinas, Vincent, Roger Bacon or Dante, and he doubtless carried out the subdivisions of his Franciscan friend by putting physics, mathematics and metaphysics under natural science, ethics, economics, and politics under moral science and grammar, logic and rhetoric under rational science.

Varagine goes on to say that the sum of all this science is true love towards God and one's neighbor—an attitude towards science characteristic of Varagine and his professorial friends of the period. No period in the world's history has been so characterized by intellectuality as the scholastic period. Its subtleties have been a byword, its brilliant distinctions and rigid logic rarely if ever equalled, and yet these intellectuals of the intellectuals come out at the point of declaring that the sum and essence and ultimate goal of all science is the love of God and man.

Again, what may be called his philosophy of teaching is summed up in his Dominical Sermons v. 93. Christ, he says, is the true schoolmaster and his school is the whole world. He has three kinds of pupils, first those who belong to the time of the law of nature. These were beginners, their knowledge rudimentary and they were taught through nature and created things, reading in them the power of God from the greatness, the wisdom of God from the orderliness and the goodness of God from the usefulness of things. The more proficient were those of the time of the written law whom God taught by better instructed men, that is to say Moses and the prophets. Christians are, however, taught by Christ

himself the higher commandments and, therefore, their righteousness should be greater than the righteousness of others.

Altogether Varagine must have been a diligent and successful teacher, but his chief laurels were won in other fields.

CHAPTER VI

The Chronicle

IN 1293 Varagine wrote the Chronicle of Genoa, one of his major claims to literary fame. "Brought again from the privacy of the cloister into public office," he did not think it necessary or fit, he says, "to spend all his time in public and official matters, but rather somewhat to cultivate those fields whose fruits do not perish, but endure." "It is a good thing," he says, "now and then to return to quietness of mind and to those delights which God vouchsafes to the inward eye to look upon, and sometimes, even, it is worth the while to set down in writing such things as may serve to instruct and add to learning."

And so, having noted to his surprise how little the histories had to say about the origin of his distinguished city, he set about reading up the historians and chroniclers of Genoa and sundry other writers and found in them divers matters about the place which seemed worth setting down. These concerned the founders of Genoa and their times, the nature of its government, the rules for good government and good citizenship and finally an account of the various bishops and archbishops and their times. He divided the material, as he says, into twelve parts and many chapters "for the sake of easy reference"; and this is the chronicle of Genoa.

They lose the point of this work who look on it as intended to be a chronicle in the sense of the other chronicles of Italian cities so common at that time. It is not intended to be either like the annals of Caffaro which Varagine had before him or the personal memoirs of Salimbene. It was the fruit of quiet meditation on a wide reading knowledge of the city of Genoa, which he had taken up on his return to official duties there, in order, obviously, to fit himself thoroughly to perform those duties. The real key to the work is found therefore in his reflections in the middle part, on the nature of the government and the principles which should influence rulers and the ruled.

Again it appears from his introduction that the motive of the work was the instruction of his people, the development of their learning and their patriotic inspiration, rather than to record facts for preservation to posterity. It was in short the same motive which had dominated all his works—popular instruction.

Once more, it appears that the work is not so much a systematic chronicle in itself as a supplement to other chronicles. It was undertaken because in the older histories of Genoa he found so little about the earliest times. He set to work therefore to cull from various sources the things not found in the ordinary chronicles. Every now and then he says that he omits things because they are sufficiently given in other chronicles. In one place he even apologizes for giving something mentioned in other chronicles. It had impressed him so vividly that he says, "we cannot refrain from describing, even though it is given."

And again it appears that the work is meant to be not exhaustive but selective. His method is to extract and accumulate select incidents; when he has enough to produce the desired impression he omits the rest, "not to weary the minds of hearers by prolixity". It is thus literature, not science.

When all this is understood it appears that the work is a history rather than a chronicle, dealing with the philosophy of politics, aiming to inspire patriotism and only incidentally contributing to scientific record by setting down matter not of common knowledge. In the light of this purpose it is not hard to use wisely and justly the material which he presents.

The twelve parts of the work contain three pretty distinct features: the early history, the political history and the ecclesiastical history of Genoa, or as Varagine himself phrases the latter two, the "secular" and "spiritual" history. The parts are in turn subdivided in Varagine's most characteristically articulate fashion, until there are no less than sixty-three chapters, each as clean cut as the most rigid scholastic could desire. Parts one to ten have from two to six chapters each, according to the needs, that concerning the domestic virtues being the most needy in this sense, and parts 11 and 12 have, as he says, as many chapters as there had been bishops or archbishops.

Parts one, two, three and four concern respectively the founder, the date, the name, and the conversion of Genoa. The fifth part treats of the state of the city in the times of its beginning, its progress and its perfection. This is the "secular" history proper. The sixth

part contains an account of the various forms of secular government under which the city had been ruled, with some reflections on the best form of government. The seventh, eighth and ninth parts, respectively, treat of what makes good government, good citizenship and good domestic life. And finally, parts ten, eleven and twelve treat, respectively, of the ecclesiastical history in general, of the bishops and of the archbishops.

It is a pity that the only published form in which the Chronicle has hitherto been available has had edited out of it all of what the editor calls "inept and superfluous matter". This includes nearly all the material which Varagine has gathered on the earliest history of Genoa, which is probably no great loss to history, and most of the instructive matter of the second part and this is a real loss, if not to history, at least to a knowledge of Varagine and the ideals of his time.

It may be that the parts omitted by Muratori deserved, in his mind, all the epithets which he applies to them; fabulous, trivial, inept, extraneous, padded, vulgar, useless and the like, but if so, he missed the point. For the work as it was intended to be, it is the epithets themselves which are inept. It is indeed true enough that the stories of Rosamund and Theophilus, of Theodolinda and Theodoric and of the "Papess" Joan and many other matters have very little to do with the serious history of Genoa, nor is their omission any very great loss from any point of view save that of the life of Varagine, but it is a pity that what is said "in praise of concord and dispraise of discord", or on the virtues of public, civil or private life should have had to be

omitted. If these do not contribute much in themselves, they do at least interpret the Chronicle and throw light on the times as well as on those attempts on Varagine's own part at public peace-making between the factions of Genoa and between Genoa and Venice, which form the climax of the Chronicle. While the diadatic part of the Chronicle, like the "Rules of living", which it resembles, does consist of matters which are, in a sense, as Muratori counts them, axioms, generalities and commonplaces, applying to one city as well as to another, and while they may also be as peculiarly bad in their Latin style as he finds them, yet, when all has been said, they do have something of the perennial literary charm of matters which have to do directly with human nature and are uttered by one who views them with simplicity and expresses himself without prolixity.

The rulers, he says, should be strong and magnanimous, that they may be fearless as judges; they should be God-fearing, virtuous and especially they should be haters of avarice. To be good citizens, he thinks, men should be discreet in giving counsel, not hasty in judgment, virtuous, and, most especially, zealous in public affairs.

In the part devoted to domestic concerns he discusses how to choose a wife and how to know whether she be a good one or not; how husband and wife should love one another and keep the peace; how parents should act towards children, children towards parents, masters toward servants and servants toward masters.

As to the choice of a wife, he says that although the

discreet wife is a gift of God, none the less the man who would take a wife should diligently consider all the factors and circumstances. The problem as he looks at it is quite as much a choice of parents-in-law as of wife. He advises if both parents are bad to give the girl up absolutely and to be very careful if even one is bad; it is less dangerous with an evil father than an evil mother, for the daughter will be more like the mother, but it is dangerous in any event. In every case he says one must not regard riches or beauty only but habits and worth, as all wise and discreet men do.

Muratori does happily retain what Varagine has to say on the theory of government, although this is quite as axiomatic as the rest of this third of the work. In this portion after describing the various kinds of rulers by whom the city had been governed, Varagine says, "it is certain that in the estimation of the world the beautiful and rich count for more and are more highly esteemed than the poor, but if the poor rule better and more usefully than the powerful and rich, they ought to be considered the better rulers. If the city is ruled better by councillors than by podestas, then councillors are the better rulers; but if it is better ruled by podestas, then podestas are the better; and if they are ruled better and more fittingly still by captains and abbots, then the latter are more valuable. For that one is always to be preferred for the ruling who is found to be best suited for the work; since in a governor the quality of the person is not to be considered, but the virtues of probity,

justice, equity, mature discretion and greatness of heart and mind.

All this, it must be submitted, is better to be described as common sense than as commonplace—when one considers, especially, the audience for whom it was intended.

The bulk of what is left by Muratori, which includes undoubtedly all which is of direct historical value, is obviously taken by Varagine from the public archives of the city and other reputable sources or concerns things which passed under his own personal observation.

The value of this portion of the work has been more and more recognized by the historical critics. It contains a good bit of material not to be found in any other source and some of the matters, such as those about the Flagellants, the embassy to Rome concerning peace with Venice, the wars with Pisa and Venice and a dozen other matters which came under his own observation, are related with great vividness and animation of style.

Some of the incidents in the ecclesiastical history which have no great bearing on public affairs are nevertheless vivid little pictures of distinct value for culture history. There is a story of the clever thief who hid himself in the cathedral, stole relics and sold them to an Alexandrian from whom the city had to redeem them for above fifty pounds Genoese.

Then there is the story of the four pirates. These men, whose names he gives, had been sentenced to be hanged by the Podesta. There was, however, so great a crowd at the square of San Lorenzo bent on setting

the pirates free, that they could not be got to the scaffold. The Podesta mounted his horse and scurrying hither and thither to avoid the crowd, his horse became terrified and threw him on the stone pavement by the cathedral, breaking hip and thigh so badly that he died of the hurt. Meanwhile the four pirates were hanged, but two of them were still alive at the end of a whole hour, after the others had been long dead. So by authority they were taken down and when it was told that it was because they had commended themselves to the relics of St. John the Baptist that they had been kept alive, they were set free.

But it is the events which have to do with public history, sacred or secular, and those with which he himself has to do, which give chief value to the work. While it is by no means an autobiography and the personal allusions are very few indeed and modest enough, nevertheless all the matters which relate to his own time so clearly bear the mark of first hand experience that the whole section is in effect a very impersonal personal memoir of his times. The more the work is studied the more this proves to be the case and the more valuable the material becomes. In fact this material forms no insignificant part of the work, being about one-third of the historical matter and nearly one-fourth of all the matter given by Muratori.

Quite naturally much that Varagine has to tell relates to the naval exploits of the Genoese and in the details of his description one may fancy that one reads an echo of his early training in ship building Varazze. He records first and last something like a dozen expe-

ditions; in 1199 twenty-six galleys and six ships to assist in the capture of Jerusalem; in 1099 forty galleys and again forty galleys in 1118; in 1220 forty galleys and many other vessels against Pisa. In 1244 they armed twenty-four galleys and brought Innocent IV to Genoa. The same year forty galleys and many ships went against Armenia. In 1232 there were fifty-two ships, thirty smaller ships, twenty galleys and many other armed vessels at a certain siege. In 1224 they raised ninety-six strongly armed galleys against the forty-two Pisan galleys and other vessels. In 1294 the Genoese with twenty-six galleys and two other vessels, with eighty rowers each, met twenty-four Venetian galleys and four other vessels of forty rowers each, and finally between the 15th of July and the 15th of August 1295, no less than 200 galleys were armed for the war with Venice, though the number was reduced to 165, so as to have no galleys which would not carry at least 220 armed men, some of them having as many as 250 or 300. There were in this fleet, he says, 45,000 fighting men and yet there remained in the city and on the Riviera enough to have armed forty vessels more.

One picturesque touch is his description of why it was that the Venetians had, once upon a time, been able to inflict damage on the Genoese. "But it must be said for Venice," he relates, "that, once upon a time, these Venetians did inflict a great deal of damage on the Genoese and the reason of it was that our citizens of that time incautiously put on their galley Lombards, who are ignorant of naval affairs and inexperienced in marine warfare. And since these were untrained oarsmen, they

were by the same token useless for fighting and inexpert and incompetent at every point. Such as they, know better how to furrow the earth than to plow the sea waves, better how to drive carts than to steer vessels. Such as they, seasick and with aching heads, prefer rather to utter querulous groans than to hurl shouts of defiance at their enemies. They prefer, rather to lie prostrate than to bear the burden of active conflict. Such men should, therefore, be used for warfare on foot, and in land battles; for each man is worth more for that sort of work in which he has most experience. On this account our citizens nowadays, being better advised, do not put Lombards upon their galleys or their ships, or indeed, any other foreigners but their own native born men and therefore they have since got many victories over Venetians and Pisans."

The work is by no means uncritical. Varagine says distinctly that where he has no other source he borrows from popular tradition, but he quotes his sources and most of them are good ones. Owing to this aspect of his method it is not at all difficult to criticise out the mythological and legendary matter and he himself often uses the same reserve as to doubtful sources that he does in the Legend.

This is almost the only dated work of Varagine, and, as he says in the Chronicle itself, was "compiled in the second year of his pontificate, *i. e.*, in the year of our Lord, 1293." Although it was doubtless written and published in this year, he seems to have brought it up to date and published new editions each year until his death, for there are several extant manuscripts with ad-

ditions, apparently by Varagine himself, which carry the story through the following years, one through 1295, three through 1296, and several others through 1297.

CHAPTER VII

New Lives of the Saints

THE translation of the relics of San Siro gave Varagine occasion to write a special life of this saint. Hagiography had become a frequent occupation with him. His reputation as the author of the Golden Legend made him an authority on saints and their relics and he was apt to be called in for an oration on the occasion of such a translation. He must first and last have assisted at many such, since the time when he helped in that most memorable celebration at Bologna in 1267, when the relics of St. Dominic were removed.

At least four of these occasions resulted in written works, for there are this number extant and they form a little class by themselves, significant enough of one phase of Varagine's environment and mental activity. They stand perhaps for that element in him which is most foreign to present day thinking and almost the only element in his very practical and human life which can be counted foreign. His profound interest in the details of the relics and the miracles which accompanied them seems curiously unlike him but it is on that account worth realizing, because it formed in fact so true a part of him.

The four topics to which Varagine devotes an oration or chapter, or list of relics, or hymns, or all of them, are the relics of Saint John the Baptist, the relics kept in the monastery of SS. Philip and James, the relics of San Siro of Pavia and the relics of San Siro of Genoa. Probably two of these were written after the little work on San Siro of Genoa and one a few years before.

His history of the relics which are in the convent of the Holy Sisters of SS. Philip and James is described as compiled by Varagine "some time Provincial Prior", but it was not compiled between his provincialates and probably not until just before his archbishopric. The account treats first of St. Philip, then of the relics of St. James, then of those of St. John the Baptist, then of how these relics are proved genuine. Proof is in part the tradition but chiefly the miracles performed.

Following this is a matter of profound interest to him and of some biographical interest, because it tells how he secured for this monastery, in which he took a great interest from the beginning, the head of one of the 11,000 virgins of Cologne, and how this head was proved genuine by documents and a pointed miracle. When the Monastery was founded in 1282 it occurred to him that for this convent of sisters the head of one of the virgins of Cologne would be peculiarly appropriate. Being, as he says, "at that time undeservedly in the office of Provincial Prior", he urged some of the friars of his province who were studying at Cologne, to secure one of these heads for him for this purpose. They, through their own efforts and the efforts of their friends, secured from the Abbess and the Court at Cologne, the object

of their petition and the head was sent to Varagine with reverence and diligence. He appointed a solemn service and had it carried reverently in a procession of all the brethren of the convent and a great throng of populace of both sexes to the monastery of SS. Philip and James. Brother Nicholas of Antioch in silk gown reverently removed, reverently put in place and reverently revered the head. He himself celebrated the mass and preached to the people the word of God, after which all went home with joy.

The genuineness of the head was certified to by the Abbess and the court officials of Cologne in documents which are given in full. It was farther proved by a miracle which occurred on the way home. The brethren who were charged with taking the head to Genoa carefully did it up in a strongly nailed wooden box with iron keys. This they carried on their shoulders. As they came to a certain precipice, by carelessness of the bearer, the box fell from his shoulders down the precipice and was dashed on a huge rock. It was broken in pieces, the iron key twisted and certain other relics in the box were broken into minutest fragments, but the head, falling from the box, remained upon the rock intact, without the least vestige of lesion. The friars running down in order to perhaps gather up some minute fragments, saw the shattered box, twisted keys and the other relics reduced to powder, but the head unharmed upon the rock, and were stupefied with joy at this manifest prodigy. "No one," says Varagine, "of sane mind, could think it anything but a miracle, unless willfully and totally depraved." There were four things in the

box, he says, bones, wood, iron and head. Bones, wood and iron were naturally strong, the head naturally fragile. Yet the bones were broken, the wood reduced to powder, the iron twisted, but the head was found whole and unharmed.

He closes the work with three couplets, one to SS. Philip and James, one to St. John the Baptist, and one to "that Virgin and Martyr whose head they had".

The "History or legend of the translation of the most blessed John the Baptist", is by title a record of how the most holy relics were transferred from Lycia to Genoa and placed in San Lorenzo in the year 1098.

The story of the loss and finding of these relics is legendary up to the time when they were found at Mirrea also called Stimara in Lycia by the Genoese fleet. At this point it becomes history and very suggestive history for the methods and manners of the times. John was, it is said, buried in Sebastia or Samaria, his head, however, having been taken to Gaul. Some time later the pagans, envious of the miracles performed in Samaria, violated the grave and dispersed the bones. These, however, they gathered up again to burn, but it happened providentially that a monk from Jerusalem came to the tomb to pray. He gathered the major part of the bones and sent them to Phillip at Jerusalem, who, with great joy over so splendid a treasure, sent them to Athanasius of Alexandria. Afterwards while the Blessed Niccolaus was Bishop of Mirrea, the bones were found there in a marble vase. He reverently guarded them during his life and at his earnest request was buried by their side when he "emigrated to the Lord".

It came to pass long after, that for its sins, the city of Antioch was despoiled of nearly all its defenses and munitions and beset by infidels. Genoa sent to its aid a large army with ships. These put to death many of the enemies of the cross and put the rest to flight, recovering the fortifications, positions and munitions from the infidels. After this glorious victory the Genoese returning home stopped at Patere near Mirrea. Knowing that the blessed Niccolaus had once lived at Mirrea, and seeing that it was nearly depopulated, for pious reasons they unanimously agreed that the body of the blessed Niccolaus should be taken by them to Genoa to have greater devotion and reverence. "This we believe to have been Providential" in order that the bones of the Fore-runner, long hidden in darkness, should be brought to light "to direct our feet into the way of peace by his merits".

At the Church of Niccolaus, the Genoese, "going there with so holy and laudable a purpose", found certain aged monks. To inquiries about the body of Niccolaus they replied that it had been taken away by violence. Disbelieving this the Genoese began to hunt vigorously under the altar and there found the empty sarcophagus from which the body of Niccolaus had been taken by the Barese to Bari, as the monks had said, by violence. They found, however, at its head, a marble box with bones. This they took with joy and ran quickly to their companions, thinking that they had found the body of Niccolaus. The monks, however, followed them to the seashore with loud lamentations and tears, crying, "We beg and beseech you in the name of God, return

to us in His name what you have taken, for this is not the body of the blessed Niccolaus." When the Genoese were deaf to their prayers and adjurations, since they thought they had what they were looking for, the monks told them weeping, that these were the relics of the Blessed John the Baptist, which they and their fathers had revered from time out of mind.

Hearing this the Genoese were filled with joy and unanimously agreed that the relics should be divided among the ships. This was done, and they set sail with favoring wind, but suddenly a storm sprang up and the sailors seeing shipwreck imminent, offered up prayers with weeping. Whereupon a certain priest present declared that unless the divided relics should be reunited the ships could not be saved. This could not be done while the storm was raging but the sailors bound themselves to do it as soon as possible and immediately by the wonderful mercy of God the sea calmed down. The relics were at once gathered in the flagship, sealed by the chief captain and they safely entered the port of Genoa with all joy. The relics were placed on the high altar of the cathedral with great ceremony and later placed in a marble coffin.

Not long afterwards, having opportunity through the dispatch of another fleet, the monks of Mirrea were again interviewed and the authenticity of the relics established, the monks receiving some few of the relics back again, in token of appreciation.

The author then relates a number of miracles.

It is alleged that Varagine composed hymns which were sung at the ceremony of the translation of these

relics, but it is also alleged that the hymns sung on this occasion were written long before his time.

An interesting footnote to the getting of these relics of St. John the Baptist for San Lorenzo is the account of Varagine's activity in securing various relics for his own convent in Genoa. It seems that in the year 1203 a Venetian vessel, returning from Constantinople had on board a great collection of relics secured there, and among other things some of the wood of the true cross, supposed to be the same which St. Helena sent to her son Constantine, in a splendid silver case. The vessels were captured by the Genoese under Dondedeo de'Fornari. The wood of the cross was presented by Dondedeo to the cathedral but the other relics he kept for himself, whether for private use or waiting for a better market. At his death they fell into the hands of his heirs and Varagine finally secured them for San Domenico, presenting them in a silver case.

A third work of this class is the sermon on the deposition of Saint Syrus or San Siro, bishop of Pavia, which is found annexed to various manuscripts of a history of Pavia. It is preceded by a list of the relics in twenty-three churches of Pavia, also ascribed to Varagine.

The sermon is brief and recites the triple glory of this ancient bishop, who it appears was the boy with the five loaves and two fishes, and who predicted in detail the future glories of Pavia as they came to pass.

Perhaps the most interesting of these four little lives is on the whole the life of San Siro called forth by the ceremony which Varagine records. It is of the same gen-

ral nature as the other lives but has besides, three hymns dedicated to San Siro, one of twelve and two of eleven stanzas each, one for vespers, one for matins and one for lauds.

The life is made up chiefly of miracles performed during his lifetime or afterwards. Siro was, it appears, the third bishop. Among the miracles is one which is a favorite of Varagine, being told by him of another saint also and used as illustration in his sermons. In this form it happened to San Siro. Once upon a time when St. Felix, teacher and mentor of San Siro, was officiating in church, Siro burst into such unrestrained laughter that Felix was more than amazed. After the mass was finished, therefore, he asked Siro why he had laughed so violently in church, he who habitually was so mature and sober. He replied that he had seen a demon in church taking down the names of all those who were talking or acting in a disorderly manner. When there proved to be so many that the roll could not contain all the names, the demon tried to stretch it by taking between his teeth and pulling. Suddenly, however, the vellum broke and his head was dashed back against the wall with such force that the sound of the blow could be heard and his head was well bruised. Then he vanished. Siro said that he was stirred to laughter at seeing the demon baffled.

In decided contrast to these four little lives of the saints, is Varagine's work on St. Augustine. This too, is in a way a treatise on the saint's "remains", but the remains are literary, not osseous. It is a work of per-

haps ten thousand words and is not much more than a chronological list of his writings with some running comment or brief description.

The existence of this work has been doubted but it in fact exists in an edition without place or date, of which there is a copy in the Paris National Library.

The author gives a few biographical items but plunges almost at once into the matter of his writings. He says that Augustine began to write when he was twenty-six or twenty-seven years old. After his conversion at the age of thirty, he became a Presbyter at the age of thirty-three, Bishop at thirty-six, and as Bishop was writing for thirty years. He gave up his bishopric at the age of sixty-six and wrote for ten years more before he died.

He takes up the matter chronologically; the books written before his conversion, after his conversion, while he was Presbyter, while he was Bishop. He enumerates under the various periods, "first", "second", "third", etc., and begins his paragraphs, one to a book, "at that time", "after this", "next", "then", etc.

There is just enough running comment to give a certain variety and interest to the list and to raise it to the class of literary history rather than mere bibliography. After he has finished the enumeration, he closes briefly, "In the year 311, the 76th of his age, the above mentioned distinguished doctor fell asleep happily in the Lord, full of virtues and good works, etcetera". What the "etcetera" were is left to the pious imagination.

CHAPTER VIII

Sundry Writings

THE list of his writings which Varagine gives in his Chronicle, obviously includes only those which he thought up to the dignity of inclusion in so distinguished and concise a record. It includes the Golden Legend, his three main series of sermons, the *Mariale* and the Chronicle itself. This is all. He says that he wrote "many". Something like a dozen other works have already been referred to in the course of this narrative and this by no means completes the list of works surely by him, not to mention those which have been ascribed to him.

Among those not hitherto mentioned, but plainly by him, is a little treatise printed at Venice in 1504 in a collection of Privileges of the Preacher Order. It is called "A treatise on the fact that the friar preachers are truly imitators of the apostolic life, in reply to the envious who deny this."

It is said to be by "Jacobus de Varagine, Archbishop of Genoa", but was probably written before he became archbishop. The dating of Varagine's writings in general, is little more than guesswork, but it might be a good guess to suppose that this, with various others, was written in that period of comparative leisure which followed his retirement from the Provinciate in 1286

and his elevation to the Archbishopric in 1292. He himself speaks of his having been called from the seclusion of the convent to the Archbishopric. From this work, in the great times of the struggle between the Order and the Papacy, one looks for something of a serious and interesting nature throwing light on some of the great controversies and the political or moral charges against the Orders, but the tract has nothing to do with such high matters. The charges dealt with are taken seriously but they are to modern notions such slight matters that taking them seriously would seem humorous, if it were not for the fact that they involve the grave matter of consistency of conduct.

He says that the envious criticize the Order for three things—first because its members go shod, second because they abstain from meat, and third because they use money.

To this he replies in general, that to wear shoes, abstain from meat and receive money, in the way that the preacher friars do it, is not unbefitting apostolic perfection. In the first place St. Peter himself went shod and by express injunction of an angel when he was in prison. To go shod, therefore, is to follow the apostolical example. Thomas and Mark also wore shoes. More than this the Saviour himself, as John the Baptist bore witness, went shod; his sandals are in fact preserved in the Lateran.

He discusses somewhat at length and with some feeling the criticism of these people and their grounds, especially the argument that Christ and the Apostles are always painted without sandals. He says that those

who believe the pictures ought also to believe that Christ and the Apostles had gold beards because they are sometimes so painted and he agrees with Augustine in thinking that they make a mistake because they do not examine the pictures in the manuscripts but only in the mural paintings. He concludes that it is good penitence to go unshod but not necessary to apostolic perfection.

As for abstinence, he says that Hegesippus alleges that James the Less, Bishop of Jerusalem, never ate meat, also that the Saviour ate fish both before and after His Resurrection. He says that altogether it is obvious that, while it is permitted to eat meat, it is more perfect and harmonious with christian living to abstain.

As for the use of money, he quotes our Lord's direction to St. Peter to procure the didrachma from a fish, the fact that the Apostles had a money bag, of which Judas was custodian, and sundry other examples of the use of money by the Apostles. Altogether he concludes that to spend money for necessary uses of this fragile life, after the fashion of the preacher friars, does not make one less perfect or less harmonious with apostolic perfection, but more perfect.

"The rules of living for all sorts and conditions of men," (*Modus vivendi per regulas quo ad omnes status*) is referred to in some lists of his works and is printed without comment or explanation with a collection of his sermons. It looks on its face as if it might possibly have been compiled by someone else out of his sermons. On the other hand it is so much in harmony with the latter part of the Chronicle as to suggest that a search

of the manuscripts may show this to have been a part of the Chronicle.

The work occupies less than half a dozen printed pages and contains rules for bishops, priests and monks, for rich and poor, for virgins, widows and married women, for women in general, for men and wives, for parents, children, masters, servants, families, merchants, inn-keepers, for hosts, for old men and for all men. It concludes with a rule of rules, the gist of which is "be one in faith, persevering in prayer, lovers of fellowship, pitiful, modest, humble, not rendering evil for evil. Above all things, as Solomon says, fear God and keep His commandments, for this is the whole duty of man."

The rules are pithy and practical, quaint and delightful. One can hardly imagine a more complete self-revelation of one's ethical attitude than these give of Varagine's.

"The duty of the bishop," he says, "is to expose, rebuke, and chastise the erring, cherish the good, pacify the warring, encourage the timorous."

The clergy are to cultivate sound doctrine, a holy life, good reputation, and be of one heart and mind; monks are to live in obedience, chastity and poverty, given to prayer, contemplation and the mortification of the flesh and above all things to love God—"the old to be devout, the young industrious", "decent in dress, moderate in eating, frequently in cloister and seldom in court." "In the Chapter practice not litigation but confession."

He warns the poor against envy, adulation and distraction. "Let them bear their poverty not impatiently but joyfully and seek honorably to become rich." "Let

them not frequent church for the loaves and fishes, nor steal from their neighbors.

Maidens should not be too talkative, should think on the Virgin Mary, shun dances, "not sit among young men or let themselves be caressed by them," be virtuous, not listen to flatterers, say their prayers and shun delusive and insincere words.

And so the list goes on. Widows are among other things to wear modest garments and not to gad about the streets. Married women are to "honor their parents-in-law and love their husband." Children are not to "steal from or distrust their parents," not to talk back or curse, and to go to church with them. Families should avoid discord and spending their money for pride of clothes.

It is the duty of all to avoid the excommunicate, not to get drunk, to help the poor according to each one's ability, to honor church and clergy, to beware of detraction, adulation, blasphemy, lying, perjury, continual swearing, vile language, to keep the precepts of the church, incite one another to good works, give alms freely, attend strictly to their church duties.

Two or three of these rules in full will illustrate the extent and style.

Rule for the Rich.

Let them gain nothing unjustly.

Let them not on account of their wealth look down on their poor neighbors, but help them.

Let them do their business well and quickly.

Let them not admit to their table flattering men or flattering women.

Let them diligently and gladly labour for harmony among their neighbors.

Rules for Merchants.

Let them not sell on the Lord's day.

Let them not commit perjury.

Let them avoid unjust gain, nor sell more dearly on credit than for cash.

Let them pay their debts at the time due.

Let them not lie wittingly.

Let them have just measure (stateram), just weights and a just measuring rod (mensuram).

Rules for Innkeepers.

Let them not allow dice playing in their inns, neither blasphemy.

Let them not receive light women.

Let them not, in selling, mix water with their wine or in any way defraud as to cup or to platter.

Some of the things which strike one quaintly are: "That old men should keep silent in the churches," "that hosts should not steal their guests' oats or money," "that all men should avoid the excommunicated."

It is noteworthy how he, a distinguished jurist, urges the monks to be frequent in the cloister and seldom in court, and that the Chapter meeting is a place for confession, not litigation.

His practical attitude toward life is shown in his advice that "old men should be devout, young men industrious," and again, "in the evening, that is at the end of life, all men should think upon the torments of hell and the joys of paradise"—as if until that time they would be too busy for such things.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of these rules for living, as light upon the career of Varagine, is the dominating, or at least unmistakable note, of the peacemaker. In the first rule, the bishops are to pacify discords. In the second, the clergy are to be of one heart and mind. In the third, the monks are to avoid the law courts and litigation. In the fourth, the rich are to make it apparently their chief end in life to promote harmony among their neighbors.

It has been the fashion of biographers to suppose that all books written by Varagine and not mentioned in the *Chronicle* were later compositions, but this is anything but a necessary inference.

As a matter of fact there is little doubt that Varagine wrote many more books than have been ascribed to him, and some of these before 1293, though obviously not all that have been ascribed to him are by him.

Among various works ascribed to Varagine, without or contrary to evidence, are several of considerable importance—two among the most famous books of the age and both possibly written in the convent of Genoa during Varagine's life-time—a significant instance of how such things are apt to go in groups and are in fact the result of a gathering of distinctive personalities whose in-

fluence works upon one another to increase personality and stamp production.

One of these works produced by the Genoese group, is the *Catholicon* of John of Genoa, otherwise Giovanni Balbi, who was a member of the convent and finished his book about 1287. The work is ascribed also to "James of Genoa", that is to Varagine, in various English manuscripts.

The other case is more obscure and the book more popular and more famous. It is no less than the Caxton, "Game of Chess", which is ascribed to Jacobus de Cessolis or Cessulis or Cesalis. There are in fact a score of similar forms of name under which it appears. Two manuscripts, one at Braunschweig and one at Modena, assign the authorship to Varagine. Modern criticism, however, has discovered that the author lived until 1318 at least and the work therefore could not have been by Varagine.

The work is quite in the vein of Varagine and is not a treatise on chess but a string of moral lessons based on chess pieces and the game. It enjoyed an immense popularity, quite in the same class with the *Golden Legend*, even before it was translated by Caxton.

Among other works ascribed to Varagine on slight evidence and not associated with any of the previous groups of writings mentioned on any special topic are: an Exposition of the Athanasian creed, an Alphabet of decrees, a Treatise on the mental eye, (moral eye) mentioned in certain manuscript catalogues, an Index to the *Golden Legend* which is presumably of a later compilation but which in fact appears in manuscripts as well

as in the early editions. His History of the Lombards is obviously the collection of legends in the Golden Legend under Saint Pelagius.

It is equally clear that his alleged "Lives of the Archbishops of Genoa" is an extract from the Chronicle. There are further several series of sermons not identified.

MATERIALS FOR
A LIFE OF JACOPO DA VARAGINE

III. PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

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- I. A Maker of the Italian Language
- II. Latin Writings
- III. Public Activities
- IV. Index to Parts I, II and III.

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by
ERNEST CUSHING RICHARDSON

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CHAPTER I

Prior of His Convent

IN 1258, at the age of thirty, Varagine, already distinguished as teacher, preacher and writer, began a career of distinction in yet another field. He was elected prior of his convent in Genoa. From this time on, his record as administrator rivalled his record as writer and preacher.

The Provincial Chapter of Lombardy, at which his predecessor was dismissed and his own election was confirmed, was held that year at Milan under the presidency of John of Vercelli, who a few years later was to become Master of the Order and Varagine's constant friend. It met in the convent of St. Eustorgio, the headquarters of the Dominicans in northern Lombardy, a place which was to be often associated with the events of Varagine's later life. It was held under circumstances of peculiar interest in view of his later activities as peacemaker and writer on the theory of the state. The nobles and the populace of Milan, long at odds, had early in 1258 established a "durable peace" (*una pace durevole*). Thirty-two nobles and as many commoners met in the convent of St. Ambrose and on the fourth of April signed a peace known as the Peace of St. Ambrose. This durable peace lasted three months. The meeting of the Provincial Chapter was held during this time.

The struggle into which this peace was sandwiched was typical of the circumstances in Northern Italy under which Varagine entered on his responsible public career and in which he took a powerful shaping hand. It was at this time an issue of equal rights. Here at Milan it was a good deal mixed up with matters of heresy and of the empire and it had an early aftermath, of no little import, in the death of the notorious Ezzolino da Romano the following year. The struggle involved the convent very directly for an effort was made to put all the friars out. The heretics did in fact succeed in driving out Raynerius of Piacenza, the Inquisitor.

When at the end of three months the struggle broke out again, nobles were first ousted from the city, then returned, and again were decisively ousted. The people finding themselves without nobles to fight against, began fighting one another. Finally the following year, the nobles took what the historian calls the "desperate determination" to call Ezzolino to their aid, while the people turned to Oberto Pallavicino, who was likewise favored by the papal legate. This proved the undoing of Ezzolino who was wounded and taken prisoner September 27, 1259, and died eleven days later, to the unspeakable relief and joy of the Dominican friars of Milan and the cities eastward, for his protection of the heretics was a constant thorn in the flesh of the companions of St. Peter Martyr, charged with the extirpation of heresy in that neighborhood. The protection of heretics is about the only virtue with which Ezzolino was ever charged and he was never credited with any altruistic motive in doing this. Able-bodied heretics were useful

to a man who was fighting the Pope. The death of this last champion of the nobles marked an epoch in the democratic struggle as well as in the struggle between Guelfs and Ghibellines in those parts. It was a triumph of church and people against a united aristocracy.

The convent at Genoa to which Varagine returned as Prior after the chapter meeting in the spring of 1258, was a most flourishing one, having twenty-four friars, exclusive, it is to be supposed, of novices and converts, and an excellent library, strong in the sciences, no doubt a definite factor in the very distinguished literary output of this convent during the next half century, an output which included the *Catholicon* of John of Genoa and perhaps the *Game of Chess* of Jacobus de Cessolis.

From this election as prior in 1258, until his election as Provincial in 1267, Varagine, his biographers allege, was prior of Genoa. It is true that there is little mention of him in the Genoa records of his time, true, too, that a Jacobus de Varagine was chancellor of somewhere else in 1264, that Galvanus della Flamma says that Varagine was prior of Asti in 1266, that so continuous reelection was unusual, and that there are hints of his having been prior of Como or of Acqui or of Bologna. There is, however, no positive evidence to disprove the tradition, moreover longer priorates were at that time being urged on the convents, and the chronicle shows traces of residence in Genoa for a part, at least, of this time.

One such trace is his account of the arrival there of the Flagellants in 1261. The vividness with which he tells the tale shows that it was a lively feature of his

own experience and the amount of space which he devotes to it shows the deep impression which it made upon him.

"In the year 1261," he says, "there started up and quickly spread over nearly all Italy, one of those strange revivals which took outward form in processions of men and women marching through the streets and beating themselves as they went. Great and small, nobles and commons, laying aside their upper garments, bare to the waist, marched in procession through villages, towns, and cities, whipping themselves and invoking the glorious Virgin and the saints with angelic songs. Some of these came from Tortona to Genoa, and when they marched through the city whipping themselves, they were ridiculed as fools and mad men. But suddenly the whole city was moved by the power of God, so that small and great, nobles and commons, day and night, proceeded from church to church, whipping themselves and singing angelic and celestial songs, and those who were chief in ridicule were later chief in self-flagellation. Many enmities and strifes, both old and new, in the city of Genoa and almost everywhere in Italy were turned to peace and concord. This intense devotion was introduced by certain poor and plain worshippers in Tuscany and spread throughout Italy, being observed by all sorts and conditions of men. They walked two by two through the city, whipping themselves, preceded by monks and clergy with vexillas. Many also who had slain men went to their enemies, gave their bared swords into their hands, offering to accept from them whatever vengeance they might wish to inflict. But these in turn

would throw their swords upon the ground and cast themselves at the feet of their enemies, all the onlookers weeping with devout joy and exultation of heart. Others again would scourge themselves with knotted cords made for the purpose; some with thorns, and others with iron hooks and what was amazing, although the flagellation took place in winter and men naked from the waist up marched from morning until three o'clock, nevertheless no one seemed to mind the cold at all. On the contrary, the first day they scourged themselves actively, but on the second day still more actively and easily. No wonder that they did not feel the cold, since the mighty flame of love which was blazing within the soul turned to warmth all outward cold."

This vivid account of an extensive movement touches on at least two matters closely associated with Varagine's career—the peacemakings and the songs.

An exalted, not to say hysterical passion for peacemaking had already more than once during Varagine's lifetime swept over the land, the most famous having been the Great Alleluia of 1233. These revivals, perhaps, passed away without any great general effect in the way of universal peace. They came, like the revivals of modern times, irregularly, but every few years and in various forms and degrees of intensity. However often they might come, there was always reason enough for them within that amazing feudal chaos where every city's hand was against every other city, and almost every city and town was divided against itself into Guelf and Ghibelline. And if the waves of good feeling receded as rapidly as they rose, they left at least something behind in the

way of memories and encouragements for future effort. Line upon line and precept upon precept, these movements at least formed their brain paths in Varagine's own mind and inspired the consistent purpose and effort which won for him at last the enviable title of Peacemaker.

The other matter significant for the life of Varagine in this story of the Flagellants is the angelic and celestial songs of the marching pilgrims. These were cantalines and cantiones—the famous laude or popular sacred songs in the vernacular. Although St. Francis was the first of the Laudesi, there appears to be no historic continuity between his Hymn to the Sun and the Laude of the Flagellants. It seems to have been this movement which in fact created this kind of literature.

After the first warmth of the movement had cooled down, the movement itself by no means died as the Alleluia had done. It was continued in the Disciplinati or Flagellanti fraternities, which certainly outlasted the century and which developed an abundant literature, much of which is still extant. They flourished greatly at Genoa, obviously with the encouragement of Varagine as prior and as archbishop. One extensive collection of their literature was written here in Genoa just before and after the end of the century.

The type of this spirit and its literature is Jacopone da Todi, whose career began seven years after the events of 1261. The warmth and exaltation of his songs have a certain parallel in Varagine's account as well as often in his sermons. Varagine's "Mighty ardor of love burning in the soul" and neutralizing all the outward cold,

the "fools and madmen" and "the joy and exultation of heart" remind a little of Jacopone and his "madmen glowing with the burning fire of love" and "the heart that melts like ice in the fire when I embrace my Lord in my soul."

Why anyone should as Gaspary does, describe these songs as "mournful chants of penitents" it is hard to say; Varagine describes them as angelic and celestial and the spirit as one of exultation of heart. The poems were of the ballata or dance poetry order: the crowds danced to them. Jacopone says, "Let every lover who loves the Lord come to the dance singing of love." "Let him come to the dance, with heart inflamed and blazing with love."

This movement and these hymns, are the clue to the mystical life in Italy at the end of the thirteenth century, to the development of mysticism in the Dominican Order and to Varagine's own mystical expressions and inward history. Any effort to understand this century is incomplete without some vivid realization of the spread of popular religious song in the years following 1258.

One thing which seems quite certain about this period of Varagine's activity is that wherever he may have been Prior he did not stay fixed in this spot year in and year out. His election as Prior made it all the more certain that he would be attending at least all the Provincial Chapter meetings and probably many of the General Chapter meetings. The Provincial Chapters during the ten years were held, four times at Bologna, twice at Milan, once (1266) at his home convent, Genoa and

once each at Ferrara, Venice and Faenza. The General Chapters were held, three in Italy, three in France, two in Spain and one each in England and Germany. The fact that Varagine was elected Provincial Prior in 1267 shows that he had been active at the Chapter meetings and in all those special activities which in all highly organized work are sure to drift in on a man who shows an aptitude for administrative work. Lectors were urged to keep out of all such "offices and business tasks" as might interfere with their teaching but priors were fitly occupied with these and in them a man showed what he could do.

During this period, too, Varagine was undoubtedly more or less in touch with all three Popes, Alexander IV, Urban IV. and Clement IV. All of these were actively engaged in carrying out the policy of Innocent IV, under whom Varagine's own political ideas had been shaped. Many of their moves enlisted the active cooperation of the Dominican Order. The policy was one of war to the knife against the empire. This developed naturally the cultivation of France and England as allies. This in turn meant, when France or England were at odds with Spain, a certain entente between Spain and Germany. A clear realization of all this is as useful for understanding the events of Varagine's career as it is for understanding the general course of history. This is saying much, for the seven years of Alexander's pontificate, following the death of the two great protagonists, Frederick and Innocent, have been described as critical years and they were indeed pivotal. Alexander, the nephew of Gregory IX, was far from being of his uncle's

caliber. He was a dignified and worthy Pope and he did succeed in putting an end to Ezzolino, but he made no headway against Manfred.

There is every reason to suppose on general grounds, that Varagine, the brilliant young preacher and writer, would be in touch with Alexander and there is some reason to suppose that he early attracted the personal attention and interest of the Pope. He would certainly have been used in the campaign against Ezzolino and the vain effort of Alexander to stir up a crusade against the Tartar invasion. Then, too, Alexander followed the policy of his uncle in favoring the development of the Preaching Orders. This began with the Franciscans but it meant the active encouragement of both the Orders.

Alexander died May 26, 1261, at Viterbo, Urban IV was elected August 29th. Meantime Constantinople had fallen. Urban proved to have the energy which Alexander had lacked. Himself a Frenchman he naturally followed the policy of Innocent. Indeed he was probably elected on this account. It was his policy of a definite understanding with Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX. which in the end finished the Hohenstaufen empire. He made this policy of French alliance secure by adding to the eight cardinals who elected him, six of their relatives and eight Frenchmen, among these his own nephew.

Urban died October 2, 1264. The college of Cardinals which had been skillfully gerrymandered for the purpose, decided to continue the French policy. It took four months to settle how, but it was finally decided to

ask the aid of Charles and to elect another French pope to carry out the policy. Clement, former adviser of Louis IX, and intimate with Charles, was therefore elected on this platform. He lived less than four years but he lived to see the end of Conradin. It was under his pontificate that Varagine was made Provincial Prior, which means of course that he had already distinguished himself as a supporter of the church in Northern Italy and had identified himself with the Papal policy. Happily for him he was not a relative of the Pope, for unlike Innocent and Urban and most potentates of that and all ages, Clement discouraged office-seeking on the part of his relations. He forbade them even to come to court or to try to get any advantage whatever out of their relationship to him. Perhaps the nepotism of his predecessors may have been the reason. He was as friendly to the Preacher Order as Alexander had been to the Franciscans and was buried in their church at Viterbo.

He was moreover a friend to learning. It was he who in 1266, had invited Roger Bacon to write his great works and to whom Bacon sent the first of them early in 1277. It takes no great stretch of the imagination to guess that Varagine's learning had attracted the attention of the Pope and aided his election as Provincial.

Varagine's distinctive literary activity during this period, so far as is known or can be guessed, was in the Italian. No doubt he was writing in Latin, too, but his chief work at this time was his translation of the Bible, and it is likely that other Italian writings be-

long here for it was the characteristic period of his own direct effort with the people as distinguished from his earlier teaching in the convent and his later wide ranging administrative work.

CHAPTER II

Provincial Prior

IN 1267, not ten years after he had become conventual prior and before he was forty years old, Varagine was elected Provincial Prior of Lombardy, an office to which he was to be reelected more times than any other man of his century. Lombardy included at that period and for this purpose all of Northern Italy, from and including Bologna. It was one of the largest and most influential provinces of the Order and its head was closely identified, not only with shaping and executing the policy of the powerful and rapidly growing organization, but with the general policy and activity of the church, for the Mendicant Orders, developing their remarkable organization in times of civil disorder, had become the executives of the Pope. The Dominicans surpassed even the Franciscans in the extraordinary efficiency of their machinery and were the chosen agency of the Pope for practical undertakings. The international character of this highly and strictly organized body made its leaders the natural agents for special diplomacy and its rank and file the most competent in the world for secret service and propaganda purposes. It was the friars who especially preached the crusades, carried any special message into every nook of the or-

ganized world and spread official news generally. This Order has been called the preponderant force in both church and state during this time. Lombardy came near being the preponderating province in the Order and its Provincial the preponderating force in the province. This was peculiarly true at this time when the Master General John of Vercelli, himself a Lombard, had been chosen out of this province after a long provincialate of seven years during which he was in close touch with its convents and its leaders, including Varagine.

The backbone of the organization was the body of provincial priors. They administered the convents of their provinces, presided at the provincial chapters and under the presidency of the Master General of the Order formed a sort of executive board which, with the body of definitors or delegates, were the main substance of the general chapter, the source of all the legislation of the Order. They were the chosen men from the whole Order for legislative and executive work.

As Provincial, Varagine was not only charged with the direct oversight of the Order in his region and the visitation of the thirty or more convents under his charge, but he was the active agent in many delicate and difficult affairs between the Pope and the secular authorities in Lombardy or even abroad. He was, also, among other things, responsible for the appointment, but not the direction, of the Inquisitors, throughout this great province which had become the favorite refuge of heretics from abroad—a hot-bed of heresy, and a scene of persecution.

His oversight involved not only the rapidly increas-

ing convents of friars but the second and third orders—the increasing convents for women and, what is incidentally a matter of great biographical interest, the third order, the Knights of Mary, Knights of Jesus Christ, or *Fratres Gaudentes*. As Provincial Prior he was in short, one of the real moving powers in the civilized world of the time.

Varagine's record in this office, the church books declare, is unique in its length of service. Election to the office was annual and by rule of the Order passed at the very first chapter held after his election (Viterbo 1268), it was required that the votes should be submitted to the General Chapter for approval. During part of the time at least the whole matter was counted so important and so to be safeguarded from abuse, that the votes of the Provincial Chapter had to be signed by each voter although they were kept secret and transmitted to the General Chapter under the seal of the Definitors. The ballot being quite secret made the election a real choice, and fourteen reelections an extraordinary tribute. Varagine was reelected annually until he had served for ten years, and again elected in 1281, and for five successive years. This made a total service of fifteen years whereas the five years preceding him there had been three incumbents and during the five succeeding, there were a like number. The average incumbency during the whole of this century was less than three years. It is hard to imagine a higher tribute to administrative efficiency than this free election, subject to approval by the highest body for an unprecedented time during this period of great development in

the Order, increase in convents and increasing share in the church activities. It was the scholar in politics making good.

At the time when Varagine was elected to the Provincialate, both Provincial and General Chapters were being held at the Dominican convent in Bologna. The meeting was in early June, and the occasion was a noteworthy one. For a long time the Order had been minded to remove the remains of St. Dominic from their plain tomb to a more splendid one more honorably placed. At the General Chapter of Montpelier, two years before, it was announced that the friars of Bologna were at work on such a tomb, and subscriptions were asked by the Chapter from all friars so that the work might not be held up for lack of money. Nicholas of Pisa and Fra Guglielmo Agnelli were chosen for the work. In 1267, the task had been finished and a grand festival of translation was held. The friars came from near and far; there were, it is said, no less than five hundred present. This must have taxed the hospitality of the local convent severely, and it was by no means looked on with approval by the Order, for we find the Chapter decreeing that those priors who gave permission to the brethren of their convents to come to this celebration on insufficient grounds, should be punished with "three days on bread and water, three psalters and three acts of discipline". For the friars of those days were as prone to conventions as any sectary of today and as ready to abuse free hospitality for private enjoyment. All sorts of devices and regulations had therefore to be passed to protect local entertainers at conventions, just as it had

been necessary to restrict the hospitality of the University convents to two students from each province to keep them from being overrun.

At all events the occasion gathered a brilliant company, among whom was St. Thomas Aquinas, representing, as definitor, the Roman province, or as some say just beginning his services as professor in the University. No doubt Varagine played an active and prominent part on this occasion, if he was not in fact master of ceremonies. Whether his appointment as chief of all the convents of Lombardy was at the beginning or at the end of this chapter, he already stood in the eyes of the Order as their most capable executive in Northern Italy. It was an international affair and Lombardy was host.

Varagine's movements during the following years may be traced with accuracy, if in rather bald outline, in the fact that it was not only his privilege but his duty to attend all chapter meetings, provincial and general. The Provincial Chapter was held the "second week in Pentecost" of each year and as soon after the General Chapter as conveniences of travel allowed.

The next year the General Chapter was held at Viterbo and Varagine was present, as we learn from one of the rare direct references which he makes to himself in his Chronicle. He heard therefore the famous prophecy of Pope Clement in the Dominican church there. Conradin "with the aid of the Pisans and nearly all Ghibelines" had come to Pisa with a great army intending to invade Apulia by force and snatch the kingdom from the hands of Charles. Every one was greatly terrified, but the Pope "bade us all publicly not to fear for he

knew that this young man was being led by evil men like a sheep to the slaughter and of this we might be more certain than of anything save the articles of faith." The fear of all present was turned to admiration and it proved later, according to Varagine, to have been a truly inspired prophecy when Conradin, having invaded Apulia, was overthrown with all his army by King Charles, and Conradin himself was put to death.

It was probably no chance that led to the holding of the General Chapter at Viterbo in 1268, or to the Pope's presence, for Clement was being more and more deeply interested in the Dominicans. In the interval between the chapters of Bologna and Viterbo he confirmed numerous privileges to the Order. No doubt it was in this connection that the Chapter at Bologna appointed Viterbo, the Pope's residence, as the meeting place for the following year contrary to the practice of holding the chapters in Italy only on alternate years.

From the General Chapter at Viterbo, he passed directly to the Provincial Chapter at Mantua where he presided.

Soon after this he seems to have adjusted a local question at Genoa, which resulted in the establishment of the Convent of St. James and St. Philip outside the walls of Genoa. This was perhaps typical of his work as Provincial. Two or three Dominican sisters had come from Palma and had joined to them various Genoese women with the idea of founding a convent. They had several times asked the Archbishop for permission to build and by proxy he laid the corner stone. The sisters agreed to recognize the authority of the

Archbishop by an annual gift of two wax candles. There were nine sisters and the prioress was Tullia of Parma. It has been said that Varagine founded this convent and doubtless he did in the sense that as Provincial it was his duty to examine and encourage or discourage all such enterprises. Many were in fact founded during his Provinciate and under his encouragement. Genoa naturally interested him. In this case he must apparently have helped persuade the Archbishop, although he did not soften his heart far enough to have him lay the cornerstone of the church himself.

October 29, 1267, Conradin was put to death. The Pope died a month later and it was three years before the cardinals could agree on a successor.

During the following years all the Lombard convents must have been visited repeatedly. These thickly dot the map of Northern Italy and a list of them doubtless is a record of Varagine's constant travel in this region. This work of inspection was punctuated by visits to Rome, preaching trips to the rest of Italy and excursions abroad for the General Chapter meetings.

The visitation of his Province took Varagine from Bologna on the one hand to Turin and Venice and Como on the other. He attended General Chapter meetings at Paris, Milan and Montpellier, and presided at Lombardy Chapter meetings at Bologna, Milan and Ferrara.

September 1st, 1271 the deadlock among the cardinals was broken and Gregory was elected Pope. He was of the Visconti—kin therefore of the Fieschi, Innocent IV, Andrian V, and Varagine himself. He was a spiritual relation as well, being a notable peacemaker, a

reformer of morals and patron of the Mendicant Orders, promoter of crusades; as Varagine says, "A good man, just, upright, God-fearing and ever zealous for religion." He found that changing from the German emperors to Charles was tending to become a mere change of masters and played his cards accordingly—while in general pro-French.

As Provincial of Lombardy, Varagine was of course industrious in promoting all the church activities and building up the Order. In 1272, he was personally at Florence and then at Bologna; in 1273, at Budapest, then at Faventia; in 1274, at Lyons and Milan. In 1275, both Chapters were again held at Bologna.

Gregory X died January 10, 1276, and had three successors in a single year, Innocent V, Adrian V, and John XXI. Innocent V, was a Dominican. Varagine had been long and closely associated with him at General Chapter meetings at least. Professor of theology for many years, he was especially congenial to "Jacobus the Theologian," and of him Varagine in common with the rest of his Order hoped much for the Order. He, moreover, as Varagine records, "had special affection for the city of Genoa, and brought about peace between King Charles and that city". Adrian V, was himself a Genoese, a Count of Lavania, nephew of Innocent IV.

The tragedy of the only five months of Innocent and one month of Adrian, together with the disappointment of hopes for his Order and city, must have hit Varagine hard. The election of John XXI, was another blow for Varagine disliked him as much as he had loved his predecessors. John was elected September, 1276. He

was no friend of the Mendicant Orders. No doubt he was beginning to resent that assumption of power and independence by them, which came to an issue fifteen years later. The situation became unbearable for the Provincial Prior. In the Spring of 1277, at the Bordeaux Chapter meeting, just ten years after he had taken up the office, he laid it down again, "greatly to the regret of the brethren," as Borselli says, "since he had ruled the province well."

Weariness and the wish for devotional and literary leisure are alleged as reasons but one can well believe as he reads Varagine's characterization of John XXI, that friction with the Pope had much to do with his decision to retire. John died, perhaps the very day that Varagine's resignation was presented to the Chapter, killed by the falling in of the roof of his new palace at Viterbo and Varagine says "his death was small loss to the Church, for although he was very learned in physical and natural science, he was greatly lacking in discretion and common sense." The Latin makes here a keen contrast between natural science and natural sense and Varagine's intolerance of lack of common sense is wholly characteristic.

In his record of the General Chapter of the previous year, 1276, Galvanus della Flamma adds to the simple statements that the General Chapter was held at Pisa and the Provincial chapter at Piacenza under the presidency of Varagine—"In this chapter Frate Bonanus was definitor and through the Pope the dismissal of the Master General was procured." The following year Varagine was dismissed and Bonanus made Provincial

Prior, and "ruled three years". It seems easy to read between the lines that the same influences in ecclesiastical politics which had brought about this famous dismissal of John of Vercelli which never came off, had been at work here. Varagine was close friend of the Master General and doubtless shared with him the favor or disfavor of Pope and friars. At least he was now among the outs and not in favor with the ruling faction. Bonanus had taken his place. John's resignation was in fact offered in 1277, but not accepted. He did not give up office until he died in 1283. Varagine withdrew from office in 1277, to return again shortly, with the return of his party.

Varagine withdrew from office in the Spring of 1277. John XXI died about the same time. Nicholas III was elected November 25th, but his election did not change the situation for Varagine. The new Pope had been the intimate counsellor of John XXI, and continued his policies, developing also an anti-French policy, which, however justified, would not have tended to bring back the old elements. Varagine doubtless continued to share John of Vercelli's continued disfavor with the Pope.

Whatever may have been Varagine's reasons for retiring, it is likely that the time between the laying down of his task as Provincial in 1277, and taking it up again in 1281, was well occupied, and that not alone with writing. He doubtless attended the Chapter meetings of the Order much as before. The year after his retirement, both General Chapter and Provincial Chapter were held at Milan, and that Varagine was at Milan

sometime during this year appears not only from the fact of the Chapter meetings, but from a will executed at the convent there in which he appears as witness. This document has been quoted as evidence that Varagine lived here during the interval as well as while in office, but it proves the contrary, for it describes him as *Jacobus de Varagine* of the convent of Genoa. During this same year, the documents show him at Turin helping to found the library of the Dominicans there. This General Chapter meeting at Milan brought to the front one who was destined to play the leading part in more than one exciting scene, in which Varagine had a share during the following years, and the climax of which, like the first scene, was to be played here in Milan—Munio of Zamora.

The Master General, John of Vercelli, had been absent now for more than a year in France, on a special mission. Appointed by John XXI, he with Jerome of Ascoli had been sent to intervene in the newly declared war between Philip the Bold and Alphonse X, of Castile. The papal emissaries went to Paris and sent a favorable report of their interview with Philip, but learning of the death of the Pope, they did not venture to go to the King of Castile. They waited in the South of France until the new Pope should be elected, and it was therefore well into December before they received their instructions from Pope Nicholas III. The negotiations dragged along till spring. As the time for the General Chapter approached, the Master-General wrote to Nicholas for permission to attend. This was given under date of April 23, 1278,

but reached him too late to be of service. He was, therefore, not present at Milan. In his stead Munio de Zamora, Provincial of Spain, presided—the same Munio who was afterwards Master-General and had the distinction of having quarreled with two Popes. If Varagine had held office for another year, he would most likely have presided at this time as he did on a similar but a more important occasion nine years later, when Munio once more received an honor which might have been his. Bonanus, who as definitor had, it is alleged, secured the mysterious dismissal of John as Master-General, presided at the Provincial Chapter of Lombardy held at the same time and place.

About the time of the meeting of the General Chapter at Milan, 1278, i. e. on the 15th of May, John of Vercelli was appointed Patriarch of Jerusalem. His fellow legate had already been honored by being made cardinal. The custody of the Holy Sepulchre was no doubt an honor, but proved unwelcome to John who rightly read the appointment as a removal. The letter was addressed to Brother John, “formerly Master-General”, and the Master-General, breaking his seal and announcing his retirement to the delegates, wrote to the Pope telling of his resignation, but declining the honor. This provoked a somewhat tart letter from Nicholas in reply, dated October first. He was surprised, he said, that one who exacted obedience should hesitate to yield obedience. Putting on his conscience the need of the field, he refused to accept the refusal and made known “our express will that you should accept”. But

John did not accept. He urged his seventy-five years. The Pope in reply invited him to be consecrated, having already notified him that he counted him already Patriarch. At this point Cardinal Latino Malebranca, nephew of the Pope, member of the Order, later a great conciliator and maker of Popes, and friend of Varagine until his death, intervened in behalf of John and the members of the Order who wished to keep John in office, and the Pope finally yielded. On the 4th of February, 1279, he finally let John off, explaining that he had never meant by addressing him as "formerly" Master to deprive him of office.

The incident ended here, but it is not hard to read between the lines that there was a bitter fight to remove the ageing Master General, in which Varagine stood with John and the majority, against Munio and Bonanus in minority but with papal support. Most likely at bottom it was a measuring of swords between papal and regular power and John won out because overt papal action to remove roused all the jealousy of privilege and set the Orders almost solidly behind him. Cardinal Latino, a conciliator like Varagine, and a long time companion, obviously saw and advised that insistence meant disruption and persuaded his uncle who withdrew as gracefully as circumstances allowed. One may shrewdly guess that Munio's antipathetic personality had something to do with it. Nicholas' policy was to play off Spanish and German influence against the overgrown influence of Charles but Spaniards still rubbed the wrong way and Munio was too haughty and insistent a Spaniard to be much loved.

However that may have been, Cardinal Latino here appears on the stage, in connection with the dismissal of a Master-General by a Pope and by an interesting coincidence at least Munio and Varagine appear in minor parts on the same stage—the three men who a little later were to be the chief actors in another drama, whose final act was the deposing of a Dominican Master General. It must have been with no small pleasure that Cardinal Latino frustrating the plan at this time, when it came to final grips, found Munio in the place of John and saw the remover removed.

The General Chapters of 1279 and 1280 were at Paris and Oxford, the Provincial Chapters at Ferrara and Bologna. There is no evidence of Varagine's attendance at these Chapters, but it almost needs evidence to the contrary to show that he did not attend.

With the death of Nicholas III, and the election of Martin IV, February 22nd, 1281, a French Pope brought back the French policy. King Charles indeed took care that they should choose a man who would bring it back, by being on the spot personally when the election was held. Martin had been right hand man of Urban, Clement and Gregory in negotiations with Charles and was his man through and through. He served the Mendicant Orders, too, as he served Charles—with the whole heart—indeed he rather overdid it in both cases.

Martin brought back also to power the anti-German, anti-Spanish element in the Dominican Order. This included the Master-General, Varagine and the majority. Martin was elected Pope in February, 1287. At the next Provincial Chapter Bonanus, henchman of John

XXI, Nicholas III, and Munio retired and Varagine became Provincial again. If Galvanus is to be believed the new prior then did some pretty drastic house cleaning at the provincial headquarters in Milan, replacing both prior and sub-prior and scattering and replacing most of the friars, apparently a clean political sweep by the party returned to power or rather perhaps a restoration, with a new administration, of the political supporters who had been ousted in 1277 and the years following. Altogether, however, it probably was not without reference to continued policy and reelection, and as a matter of fact Varagine built up a very solid machine of voters in the next five years which apparently lasted until a still more drastic manipulation of voters by the other party broke it up.

Immediately after his election Varagine was chosen by the Pope for the delicate task of hinting to Peter of Aragon, son-in-law of Manfred, that the war preparations which he was making ostensibly for operations in Africa, were under suspicion of being directed elsewhere, i. e. against Sicily, and to warn him that a war against a Christian king, meaning Charles, would not be tolerated. Some say that the doubtful honor of having been this ambassador belongs to Frate Jacopo of Santa Sabina, Rome and Florence, but unfortunately the "learned Frate Jacopo of the Preacher Order" was probably, like the Frate Jacopo of the Preaching Order, who translated the "*Modo a ben parlare*," Frate Jacopo da Varagine. Whichever it was he had need of all the "art of speaking" that he could muster and he failed perhaps by failing to observe the very first principle of

good speaking as Albertano had taught him, "Be sure that you are minding your own business". The ambassador was to ask for what point the armies were in fact intended. Peter naturally answered that this was peculiarly his own business. Accounts differ as to whether he said that it was so much his own private affair, that if one of his hands should reveal it to the other he would cut it off, or that if his tongue should reveal it he would cut it out, but they agree in substance and Varagine, baffled, returned no wiser than he went, "which greatly displeased Pope Martin", as Villani relates, and as may be believed. The issue proved that King Louis of France who gave the hint on which the Pope acted, had been right. The Sicilian Vespers came early the next year. Peter was strangely ready and brought army and navy across at once from the convenient African shore to the discomfiture of Charles and his complete ousting from Sicily.

During this second provincialate, Provincial Chapters were held in Padua, Milan, Cremona, and Bologna, General Chapters at Vienna and Montpelier and Bologna.

In 1283 the master-generalship became vacant by the death of John of Vercelli. The following year, according to the rules of the Order, there was no General Chapter, but the next, 1285, at the Chapter held in Bologna on the 12th of May, Munio of Zamora was "unanimously" chosen Master-General.

In the meantime Varagine seems to have acted as vicar general, and he it was, it would seem, who presided at the Chapter when Munio was elected. It has been al-

leged that Varagine was in fact for a time Master-General, but at most he was acting-general. Under the rules of the Order the election had to be made unanimous. There has been talk among historians about the election having gone to Munio, because he was a Spaniard and Lombardy had had too large a share in the offices. No doubt the power of Lombardy was looked at askance and no doubt Varagine had begun to make those enemies who were so violent when there was another election after the removal of Munio, but it seems rather easy to read between the lines and under that veil of proper reserve, which the admirable rules of the Order tended to preserve in such matters, that Varagine was a loyal follower of the policy of John of Vercelli in the struggle between parties within the Order, where as early as 1278, Munio was already a leader of the party in opposition, and that he was soundly beaten at this time on grounds of party policy in spite of the fact that he personally had his own province solidly behind him.

Although there were no such recognized and defined parties in the Dominican Order as the liberal or conservative among the Franciscans, there were certainly at this time growing factions destined within a very few years to break out into one of the most critical quarrels in the history of the Order, and indeed of the church, and one not nearly as mysterious, if interpreted in the plain terms of chronicled events and in the light of ordinary human nature, as it is generally thought to be.

At the Provincial Chapter, held also at Bologna and

just after the General Chapter, Varagine was again elected Provincial Prior, but with Munio as Master-General he was checkmated. His withdrawal at the next Chapter General was a foregone conclusion.

Meantime his official activities continued and the assignments to him of special missions increased. Immediately after the Chapter meeting at Bologna, by a letter of May 28th, 1285, Varagine and the minister of the Franciscans for Lombardy were instructed to prudently receive and diligently examine the witnesses whom the Humiliants of Milan, Como and Brescia should produce in their quarrel with the archbishop of Milan and the bishops of Como and Brescia, which had begun to be in litigation under Martin IV. Varagine's long, intimate and sympathetic acquaintance with the Humiliants fitted him well for the task but the appointment was official rather than personal, the Franciscan head being joined with him.

Near the end of the same year, 1285, Varagine and Lorenzo, archbishop of Conza, were charged with a mission which they may have been excused for counting delicate. It was no less a task than to beard in his den the redoubtable Guglielmo, fifth Marquis of Monferrato, called Longsword and the Great, the incorrigible Ghibelline and successful rebel against Charles of Anjou.

This picturesque survival to whom Varagine and Lorenzo were sent by the Pope, having at the siege of Tortona captured Melchior Brusetti, bishop of Tortona, had been charged with having afterwards allowed him to be assassinated. The Chronicle of Parma says, under

the year 1284, that the Marquis of Monferrato entered the city of Tortona by treachery in the early morning and took possession of it, that the bishop of the city was captured, imprisoned and unexpectedly put to death by some soldiers.

The Pope at first demanded that Guglielmo should appear before him in Rome, but the latter alleged that his territory was threatened by Savoy, that his son was only seven years old and that it was hard to get to Rome because of the war that was going on between the Genoese and the Pisans. Honorius finally sent Varagine and the archbishop of Conza to inquire. They reported, that Guglielmo was guilty of the capture or detention, but that the assassination was the unauthorized act of some subordinate who took advantage of a fog secretly to kill the captive. The Pope, therefore, authorized his two delegates to grant absolution and prescribe penance. On his humble petition for absolution they required him to go from the place where the bishop was taken prisoner to the church of Tortona, and from the gates of Vercelli, Sporenensis, and Alba, to the Cathedral churches of those cities, barefoot, clad in tunic only, and with uncovered head, that he should restore sundry castles, lands and possessions to the church of Tortona, set up an altar in the church there, endow it, and make a pilgrimage either to Palestine or to the church of St. James of Compostello and perform other pious acts. As this letter was written on the 20th of December, bare feet, bare head, and under-garments, meant something in the way of penance in that region. This penance exacted by the Pope was mild compared with that ex-

acted a few years later by the exasperated inhabitants of Alessandria, who captured him and shut him up in an iron cage until he died. Both penances were counted by his enemies mild compared with the deserts of Guglielmo but Dante calls him good and in purgatory puts him in that valley of tears where flowers made the hues of gold, silver, ivory, scarlet grain, indigo and emerald seem dim and blended a thousand scents in one sweet fragrance.

Varagine was well suited for this delicate task from the fact of his family connection and his personal acquaintance with the Monferrato region.

At the Provincial Chapter in the spring of 1286 Varagine retired from the Provincialate obviously, as events proved, of his own choice. He evidently dictated his successor and doubtless could have been reelected himself. The fact that he was this year a candidate for the vacant Archbishopric of Genoa may have had something to do with the retirement, but more likely it was a matter of political expediency.

CHAPTER III

Munio

WHEN on the 12th of May, 1285, Munio of Zamora, was elected Master-General of the Dominicans, he became the storm center of one of the most violent controversies in the history of the Order. This controversy indeed developed into one of the most threatening storms in the history of the Roman Church, for it turned into a clash between the Pope and the Orders on the question of authority and privilege, and this for a time promised even to disrupt the church.

In this crucial struggle Varagine played a leading part. Some of the men of the time held him, in fact, to be the point of revolution of the upper and nether millstones between which Munio defiantly thrust himself. However that may be, he was certainly one of the chief actors and was at times, in his over-adroit efforts at peacemaking, in no little danger of being himself ground to pieces between the Order on the one hand and the Papacy on the other. It is an extraordinary story, not without some picturesque details.

Munio was hardly elected before the storm began to gather, and the reasons for this are perhaps not as mysterious to an outsider as they have always seemed to the church historians. Trouble started with the election

itself, which was full of acrimonies, and these acrimonies had their roots no doubt reaching back to the time when Pope Nicholas III, had tried to oust John of Vercelli and instate Munio in his place—an episode in which also Varagine had played a leading role.

The direct occasion was a playing of politics on a large scale and probably on both sides. This appears from the acts of the Chapter of the following year, which forbid any bargains, on penalty of deprivation of the right to vote or the right to be voted for, and a sound punishment as well. From another act it appears that beside corrupt bargains, sundry other tricks well known to modern politicians were employed. One of these seems to have been the disqualifying of voters, for it is said, that on the eve of election the brethren are not to be removed from their convents or deprived of vote except for urgent and reasonable cause. This matter of corrupt elections had been one of growing seriousness, and these acts of 1286, describe the matter as an abuse which had reached such proportions as to threaten the very integrity of the Order. It does not appear whether the defeated candidates were more culpable in this matter than the successful ones, but the situation does show that there was plenty of rivalry and recrimination as to methods. It does not follow either that the rival candidates cherished any special bitterness against one another after the election, but when Nicholas of Treviso, Varagine's successor in office and destined to be the successor of Munio, soon turns up in a clash with Munio, and Varagine is found lined up with Nicholas, one remembers that Nicholas had for three

years before his election been in training at Genoa with annual promotion from lector to sub-prior and prior. It seems obvious from this that Varagine, although defeated in the Order, still had a firm hand on the province and he seems to have kept it there until he was maneuvered out by Munio in 1288, or 1289, by methods which made the election methods of 1285 child's play. He seems not only to have become a member of Nicholas' council which put him at the very center of influence, but he appears also to have enjoyed special powers, *e. g.*, the appointment of inquisitors and to have been directly employed by the Pope on special missions. Altogether, although he and his party had been beaten in international politics, they were still in power at home.

Several things contributed to keep matters rather on edge. In the first place the campaign for the election of Munio had been one of personalities, and Munio, it appears, had suffered severely. His feelings were injured, and his ability to forgive and forget personal injury was limited.

Then, too, the simple fact that Munio was a Spaniard played its part. Spaniards, in general, were in small favor at the papal court at that time, but more than this, Munio was the friend of the King of Castile, who was not in very friendly relations either with France or Rome. This, too, had its roots far back in the early days of French influence and in the first appearance of Munio on this stage. It was urged on this account that Munio, because a Spaniard, had never been able and never would be able to establish those friendly personal

relations with the Roman court which were so necessary for the purposes of the Order.

Another cause of trouble was, it was said, that the university-bred leaders would not endure to have Munio, who was neither Doctor of Bologna nor Master of Paris, nor famous for learning in any way, govern the Order. No doubt there was something in this. The devotion of the Dominicans to learning, and the habit of sending picked men annually to the universities had created a sort of aristocracy within the Order. It was this very thing that Humbert of Romans and the rules of 1261, had tried to meet in advising or directing that the title of master or lector or doctor should not be used, and it had no doubt become rather hard for a self-educated or home-educated friar to reach office over the heads of this ring of intellectual Brahmins. instinctively banded together by the tie which comes from sympathy in matters of cultivated taste. Significantly enough, the injunction of Humbert is again embodied in an act of the very next Chapter after the election of Munio. It is more specific than the rule of 1261. It enjoins that masters in theology and readers be called by the name of brother, or by their own names, and that they shall not be inscribed in the records by their titles. This makes it likely, therefore, that the matter did in fact play some part in the opposition to Munio. The passing of such a rule by Munio at just this time is no great evidence that tact and taste go with a lack of university education.

Again, Borselli quotes from a chronicle a still more trivial but none the less plausible personal reason, to the

effect that Munio had declined the request of Cardinal Latino to have a nephew of his appointed to Paris as lector, and declined on the ground that there were many more competent. Latino Malebranca was a pragmatist to whom competence meant ability to get and he did not take thwarting lightly. Whatever the reason may have been, there was from the beginning a strong spirit of hostility towards Munio widespread in the Order. He won his election against a strong and bitter minority which perhaps believed itself a majority beaten by gerrymandering and ballot stuffing methods.

After the election was over Munio did not have the tact or power to smooth differences. In France there was a general spirit of insubordination and cabal. The students at Paris were in open revolt and from the penalties inflicted at the Bordeaux Chapter in 1287, on three friars by name, it appears that the campaign of personalities against Munio was as active as ever and the spirit of resentment and active hostility to him still rife in many convents during this second year. Munio seems to have sent brother Salvo of the Roman province to Paris as his personal representative, charged with the task of pacifying the rebels. When, however, he presented himself as vicar of the Master-General, he was treated with scant respect, and the Chapter at Lucca next year was obliged to mete out sundry punishments to those who had treated the Master-General, in the person of Salvo, with disrespect.

Nor was this dissatisfaction and spirit of revolt against Munio confined to France. In 1287, William of Hotham,

then Provincial of England, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, a favorite advisor of Edward I, and one of the most significant men of his time, was relieved of his office and appointed reader at Paris. The students were then in active revolt, and whether for this or for some other reason, William stayed at home in England in spite of his orders, and the following chapter held in Lucca therefore empowered the Master-General to punish him as he deserved for his disobedience, which had caused, as it says, confusion and danger to the Order. Munio had before experienced the joys of being insubordinate, now he was learning the pain of having the shoe on the other foot.

That the quarrel with Munio extended also to Italy, is shown by the fact that the Master-General felt it necessary to be himself present at the Provincial Chapter of Lombardy at Rimini in 1288 and to remove Varagine and his colleague, Lambertus, from the council of Nicholas of Treviso, the Lombardy Prior. At the General Chapter held before at Lucca, all of the general preachers of the Lombardy Province had been removed and at this Provincial Chapter fifty-two new ones were appointed. As there were fifty-one or fifty-two convents, each with two votes and general preachers were voters also, this meant a shift of one-third of the voters. At the General Chapter at Trevisi the following Spring, Nicholas naturally followed his councillors into retirement, and Munio in command now of Lombardy, also had everything his own way. Where there was so much smoke there was, of course, some fire. Men of the

standing of the future Archbishop of Dublin and the future Pope Benedict XI, are not likely to have quarreled with their Master-General for nothing.

The acts of the General Chapter for 1289, describe the confusion as increasing and appoint penalties for the insolent.

The brewing storm broke in 1290. The Chapter General was to be held at Ferrara in early May. On the 21st of February, Pope Nicholas addressed a letter to the definitors, enclosing his authority to Cardinals Latino of Ostia, and Hugo of St. Sabino, giving them full authority to act for him in the matters concerning the Order, including the right to dismiss from office. Both these legates were distinguished scholars, Paris trained and brilliant teachers. Latino Malabranca was nephew of Nicholas III and made Cardinal by him in 1278. That this was no mere nepotism, however, appears from the fact that he seems to have enjoyed the confidence of all the succeeding Popes from that time until the death of Latino in 1294 that is of Martin IV, Honorius IV, Nicholas IV, and Celestine V. Varagine must have been often and intimately associated with him previously to this, and Latino remained his friend until the end of his life. Hugo, was about the age of Varagine and a Frenchman of distinguished family. He had had a long career of teaching, having been regent of St. Jacques at Paris, before he was called to Rome in 1285. He became Cardinal in 1288, soon after the accession of Pope Nicholas.

On the first of May, 1290, these two legates sent a letter to the Chapter General at Ferrara, or rather to

four persons, of whom Varagine was one and brother Salvo of the Roman province another. This was that same Salvo, who as Vicar for Munio, had been badly treated at Paris. These four, or any three, two or even one of them, was to present the letter and everybody was forbidden, under penalty of excommunication, to oppose these sub-legates in the carrying out of their instructions, which were to persuade Munio to resign and to accept his resignation. In case he was not willing voluntarily to resign, he was to be deposed "just the same", but in as honorable a fashion as might be possible. Finally there was a distinct threat that there would be a resort to the severest measures if necessary. The legates give no specific reasons save expediency, and in all the proceedings there is the same lack of specification. Pope Nicholas simply says, that from information that he has received, he thinks it not to the advantage of the Order to have Munio govern it.

These letters were received with the wildest tumult. Munio would not resign voluntarily and the delegates were obliged to present the letters in open Chapter. Here there was a perfect uproar, "tears and cries of grief and anger". "We are treated like slaves," they cried, and many of the leaders even begged permission to leave the Order for some other. Some were near to blows. Munio took the floor himself and passionately declared that he was ready to vindicate himself publicly against all accusation. This was not allowed by the rules of the Order, but the definitors undertook the regular private examination. One by one the members of the Chap-

ter, called before the definitors, expressed their private opinion of Munio. The formulated testimony was embodied in a document, which declared the Master-General to be virtuous, meritorious, of spotless reputation, a model Dominican, zealous to punish vice and to promote virtue. Among other things, he had not, it was said, eaten meat for thirty-three years.

This handsome testimonial was certified to by all the provincials and all the definitors, who, as they say, do not hesitate to seal the deposition with their official seals, save in the case of brother Jacobus de Varagine, who, having "misaid his seal", signed it with his own handwriting. An act of the Chapter the next year forbids the brethren to affix their seals to documents which they have not carefully read. This looks as if some of the brethren had not read what they were signing, while Varagine had, and as if the mislaying of the seal might have been not wholly accidental.

All this to do about Munio's character and ability was, of course, aside from the point. It was not a question of Munio's private character at all, nor was it, in the beginning at least, an issue as to papal authority. The point, as made more than once, was that his usefulness in governing the Order was at an end. He had become impossible. Whether Munio deliberately tried to sidetrack the issue in this way does not appear. More likely it is simply another example of the wrong-headedness which had brought his usefulness as Master to an end. Quite likely he was oblivious to the fact that he had made himself impossible. Pope Nicholas himself had

had plenty of experience of this wrong-headedness of Munio, and could appreciate that wilfulness of temper which had made him unable to get along either with superiors, equals, or subordinates. Whether in France, in Germany or in Italy, he could never believe that he was at fault himself, and he chose now to lay dismissal to libels on his personal character by men who cherished a grudge and to illegal exercise of papal power. His conduct is in striking contrast to that of John of Vercelli, when Nicholas III, in like spirit, wrote to him as "former master". There was no questioning of authority. He laid down the office which we find this same Munio exercising for him in his absence, though he firmly and with dignity declined the honor which salved the dismissal.

Letters were drawn up to the legates setting forth the proceedings, the uproar, the inquiry into Munio's character, the conclusion that there was no reason for removing him, and so forth. These letters were incorporated also in a circular letter to the convents.

While these things were going on in the Chapter some of the members had withdrawn and went about from convent to convent urging appeal to the Pope over the heads of the two legates. Such an appeal was in fact drawn up on the 5th of May and signed in the name of all the brethren, who were, accordingly, notified by circular letter. This appeal to the Pope was, it seems, signed even by two of the commissioners, Salvo and Varagine, while the other commissioners refused to sign and proceeded to depose the Master General according to their instructions. This action proved futile enough.

Munio, as Salvo and Varagine doubtless anticipated, simply did not step down. The letters to the Cardinal legates were full of hardly veiled insolence, and the appeal to the Pope was scarcely less severe. How Varagine was able to sign this appeal and yet retain the friendship of Latino and be in a position shortly after to receive favors from Latino and the Pope is something of a mystery on the common theory that Varagine, like Salvo, was friend and adherent of Munio. This theory of Varagine's friendship for Munio undoubtedly rests upon his signature to the appeal and the testimonial, but these only prove astuteness, not friendship. The continued favor of the Pope and Cardinal Latino, and the events of the Chapter meeting point the other way. Some indeed laid the whole trouble to Varagine and during the tumult certain of the excited brethren wished to throw brother Jacobus de Varagine into the well because, they said, "this old man is the cause of all our troubles."

It looks, in brief, as if Varagine had worked hard at his favorite role of peacemaker, taking the usual risks. The tactics of the Papal party, by alarming the members as to their privileges, had raised unexpected commotion. Varagine, with his strong common sense, apparently sized up the situation and tried to guide events instead of trying to sweep back the resistless tide with a futile broom. Salvo, the confidential friend of Munio, naturally helped. The two colleagues gained nothing by their vain attempt to carry out the letter of their instructions, while Varagine shrewdly realized that appeal

to the Pope was simply another way of carrying the matter to the very point desired. He kept some influence with Munio and did not lose the confidence of Latino.

After the meeting of the chapter Munio went to Rome where he was badly received by the Pope, and, it is said, patiently bore many insults, but he was nevertheless allowed to govern the Order until the next General Chapter. It appears from this that the Pope looked at affairs as Varagine did—as a matter of tact and patience.

Opposition in the Order had taken the double form of testimonial to Munio's character and a full flood of wrath against the Cardinal legates. Not only the General Chapter, but the Provincial Chapter of Verona, held shortly after, protested against this setting of cardinals in authority over the Order. One cardinal was bad enough, they said, but two of them were intolerable. To be sure these cardinals were both regulars, but who knew but what next time it would be a secular lording it over the regulars. Of course this is what a modern would call side-stepping the issue. The fact that the cardinals represented the Pope himself, and the fact that nobody denied that Munio was a worthy man, are quite ignored. As a matter of fact, the friends of Munio scored a point in the game by diverting the issue and insisting on the hardship of having cardinals set over them. The legates disappeared from the scene and Nicholas, taking matters into his own hands, made the concession of letting Munio hold his office until the next

General Chapter. It was a small point, however, for at the same time, he gave Munio clearly to understand orally that he must resign his office absolutely into the hands of the definitors at the next Chapter meeting.

Then the plot thickened suddenly. The Chapter for the following year was held at Palencia, by special invitation of Don Sanchez the king, the personal friend of Munio, who had offered to bear the expenses. This invitation and the acceptance by the Chapter of Ferrara were also moves in the game which the good but tenacious Munio was playing. Mortier says that Munio had made no promises, but there is no doubt that promise or no promise, he heard very clearly the Pope's explicit commands. It was a flat case of obedience or disobedience in the matter, and if, with all the plain talk recorded in the bull of April 1291, Munio was granted a reprieve until the next Chapter meeting, the acceptance of this by Munio implied, if not a promise that he would resign at that time, then at least a clear understanding that, if he did not resign, he would be put out of office.

As the time for the Palencia Chapter drew near, the Pope sent formal letters bidding Munio resign and bidding the definitors accept this resignation without delay. The letters go on farther to say, that whether the aforesaid Master should resign or not and whether the aforesaid definitors should accept the resignation or not, in any event, immediately the Chapter was over, or it was time, that, according to the constitutions, it should be over, the aforesaid Master should be wholly absolved from his office of Master. One of the letters was a

bull fixing the Chapter for the following year at Rome, the point of this being, of course, that here the meeting would be under the Pope's own eye and control. The Pope had made his move and the issue of supreme Papal authority was plainly drawn.

It was now the turn of Munio, and his friends moved promptly. When the papal couriers arrived at Palencia they were arrested, the letters taken away and they were left empty handed to present themselves to the Chapter. The letters never turned up again, nor was the thief ever identified, but Nicholas later hints a suspicion that Munio had a look at them before they were destroyed, and the chances are that at least his friend, Don Sanchez, knew all about the affair, including the contents of the letters. However that may be, the Chapter knew perfectly well that letters had been sent and Munio knew perfectly well the one main thing which they contained, if he did not, as the Pope hints, know all the contents—but Munio neither resigned nor was dismissed. This was rebellion pure and simple; it threw down the gauntlet on the issue of Papal authority over the Orders.

In the middle of August, Nicholas had heard the fate of his letters. No place had been left for compromise, indulgence or hesitation. It was a choice of Papal authority or disruption. Nicholas accepted the issue. He wrote a new letter, plainly and emphatically dismissing Munio from office. He recites that by malice aforethought his couriers had been captured and their letters basely stolen, that although they were not presented to

the definitors, their contents were presumably known to them. He bids Munio, therefore, under penalty of excommunication, not to have anything to do with the office of Master, nor to call himself Master, nor in any manner whatever act as Master, and he bids him present himself in person for trial on the 8th day of the festival of the Resurrection. A similar bull was sent at the same time to all the provincials of the Order, and not only Munio but all the definitors were cited to appear. This was the beginning of the end. Indeed it was the end, for what was left was a mere clearing up of detail. Short-sighted Munio had manoeuvred himself and, by the same token, the question of Regular privilege vs. Papal authority, into a hopeless position. The policy of giving him more rope—the policy of Varagine at the Council of Ferrara and of Nicholas in the events following—was justified. No doubt Munio ventured it because of the two respites which his obstinacy had already won, but he did not realize the limit. He was one of those intense players, too much absorbed in winning the next move to realize the position in which that victory would put him—the very opposite type to the astute Varagine. By allowing the question of Regular privilege to become mixed with that of his own fitness for office, by acting under the secular protection of the King of Castile, by attempting to benefit by the King's high-handedness and without letting himself be betrayed into open insubordination, he gave the Pope the chance to settle once for all the question of Papal authority. John of Vercelli, with no axe of his own

to grind, had yielded with dignity under protest and won a victory in the end—for himself and for his Order. Munio, quite likely in good faith, in effect staked the privilege of the Order on the question of his own fitness. The issue was clearly drawn; if the Pope had not struck sharply it would have split the church and proved him blind to opportunity as well. He struck with this letter and the threat of excommunication. Naturally, the other Christian nations would support him as against Don Sanchez, and naturally all the other Dominican provinces, whose provincials had almost to a man been deposed by the packed and cowed Chapter of Palencia, would support against the Provincial of Spain. Nobody in Christendom save his personal followers could stand for a man without the harmonious support of his own Order and in personal rebellion against Papal authority. Nothing, too, could have happened so tending to prove the need for a right of Papal intervention on occasion, in the affairs of the Order. The result was, therefore, that whereas, if the issue had been drawn at the council of Ferrara there would have been general protest, Munio's course since had left no room for rational protest, and events took from that time their natural course—not without local turbulence, and yet in substance without question. The victory had been won for Papal authority, and, as all Catholics now agree, it was a good thing for the Orders themselves as well as for the church.

Munio having been deposed, a new Master-General must be chosen, and Varagine again makes his appearance in the documents of the case in this connection.

The Provincial Chapter of Lombardy assembled at Milan and proceeded to choose electors for the new Master-General, but the course of events was suddenly interrupted. Stephanardus of Vicomercato, the poet-chronicler of the Visconti regime in Milan, was Prior at Milan at this time. For some reason, probably because he was pro-Munio, he was not on good terms with Varagine, who, it was claimed, had schemed to keep Stephanardus out of the definitorship. On this account two lay brethren actually attempted to kill Varagine. This was carrying Palencian methods into Lombard politics. Indignation or prudence suggested that the meeting would be better held outside the sphere of influence of Stephanardus, and so "the cross was raised" as the chronicler says, and the brethren took up their march for Como, where the Chapter was held and the electors for Master-General were chosen. One of these was Nicholas of Treviso and the other Varagine, but the latter did not serve, having been made Archbishop of Genoa meantime.

The General Chapter was duly held the following year in Rome, the electors chose Steven of Besancon as Master-General, an uncompromising Puritan. Munio presented himself at this Chapter as bidden by the Pope, for according to the custom, he was still due to render an account of his stewardship to his successor and to learn the will of the Order.

Nicholas had died before his arrival, but Cardinal Latino was now all powerful in the Roman court and within the Order. The new Master-General was as stern as Nicholas would have wished: "You

may not attend either the General Chapter or the Provincial Chapter, nor may you occupy any office" was his sentence. To this Munio replied, "I do not deserve to hear such reproaches, for I have borne many hardships and persecutions for my Order." Stephen rejoined, "You might better say that no Master-General ever brought upon the Order of Preachers so much opprobrium or caused so much confusion. Go to Spain to your province and there remain under discipline." The acts of this Chapter enjoin among others things, at length and most strictly, that no one is to talk against the two Cardinals who had acted in good faith for the welfare of the Order. If anybody should be caught so doing he was to be severely punished.

It may be observed in passing that at the Provincial Chapter held next year Brother Stephanardus was dismissed from the priorate of Milan.

Munio, in fact, returned to his province but he did not remain very long under discipline nor out of office, for it was only the following year (old style) (Feb., 1294, new style) that he was elected Bishop of Palencia. His latest biographer finds that the proceedings are in good order, and the election canonical. The documents themselves and Mortier commenting on them, both lay stress on the fact that this election of Munio was unanimous, signed by all the members of the Chapter, without exception, but there are several side lights which qualify or contradict this. One of these seems to confirm the fact of unanimity, but at the same time to throw a certain curious light on the method of securing unanimity at that time. It relates that in the beginning, two

members were unwilling to consent to the election. Thereupon charges were trumped up against them and they were dragged about at horses' tails until they were dead. Of course, if this was true, unanimity had been ensured beyond peradventure. But granted even that this was pure libel, the series of documents gives the impression of being a truthful account of a cleverly manipulated affair, with Munio's friend, the King, undoubtedly at the end of the wires. Galvanus della Flamma says plainly that the King made him bishop, and later Boniface VIII, speaking of the matter, says bluntly that Munio, acting with ambition, greedy after temporal honor, usurped the bishopric by execrable and detestable pressure and horrible abuse of secular power. The documents of this election are extant. More light is thrown on the matter by the acts of the Chapter held the following May, at Montpellier, where the Provincial Prior of Spain was dismissed from office and is prescribed penance of one day every week of bread and water and a psalter throughout a year, for having inadvisedly allowed Munio to accept the bishopric, that is to say for having regularized his disobedience of the Master-General. It is not in any way indicated, whether or no the Prior's act was a choice between horses' tails and bread and water.

On the 5th of July, Celestine V, he who made the "great refusal", was elected Pope. Curiously enough he accepted the election of Munio. This is not curious in itself, for this saintly but weak Pope had proved by his own acceptance of office that he was only too prone to yield to insistence, and Munio was nothing if not insistent. Moreover, while Munio was under discipline

of his Order there is no evidence that he was in any way under Papal discipline—and the documents were regular. The curious part of it is the fact that Cardinal Latino was then the power behind the throne, the man in fact who had made the saintly hermit Pope, persuading him against his own modesty and better judgment to the mistaken step. It may be that this was merely one more example of that policy of toleration, concession and compromise which Latino had before practised with Munio and of which the election of Celestine was the great example, or it may be that this toleration was to secure support for Latino against the other powerful cardinal, Gaetani, soon to become Pope Boniface VIII. However that may be, Cardinal Latino died in August, and on December 13th Celestine's feeble rule ended after four months, in his abdication. Munio's immunity ended with it. Boniface took up the matter with characteristic vigor. His unvarnished opinion of Munio was that he was a "pernicious example, odious in the sight of the Lord, full of abomination, worthy of condemnation, hostile to canon law", and he acted accordingly. A bull was delivered to Munio commanding him to appear before the Pope in three months. Munio sat still. To make assurance doubly sure, Boniface had written to the Archbishop of Toledo as well as to Munio in the matter.

When the latter failed to appear voluntarily and was not produced, Boniface sent a new bull depriving the Archbishop of Toledo of the right of confirmation, of conferring benefices, etc., and bidding him present himself

also, within four months, before the Pope for explanation, under penalty of being deposed. This letter was sent to another bishop who himself delivered it personally. Under these circumstances both the Archbishop and Munio now went to Rome, the former to be forgiven, the latter to pass the rest of his life as a sort of prisoner in the convent of St. Sabina where the Pope could have him under his own eye. He lived and died there in peace and in the odor of sanctity, highly respected, and was buried with honor in the church of St. Sabina. His grave is marked with a contemporary mosaic portrait, which is one of the best of its kind in Rome.

CHAPTER IV

Archbishop of Genoa

 IN the death of Bernard of Parma, Archbishop of Genoa, in 1286, the election of a successor proved to be a hard matter. In the Metropolitan Chapter there were four rival candidates. Varagine was one, Niccolo Camilla, the Pope's chaplain another, and the other two were, one a Fieschi and one a Spinola, both, therefore, of leading noble Genoese families, the former at that time canon of Lincoln, England, and the latter canon of Chalons. Varagine and Camilla withdrew at an early stage, but the adherents of Fieschi and Spinola kept up the fight until the Pope, out of patience, in 1288, cut the Gordian knot by appointing the patriarch of Antioch at that time out of his charge, because Antioch had been captured by the Saracens. He too, was a Fieschi, Oppizzone by name.

In May of this year, 1288, Pope Nicholas entrusted to Varagine a task which must have been most agreeable to him and which seems to have strengthened the popularity which he already enjoyed in his own city, and prepared the way for his later election to the Archbishopric. This was nothing less than the removal of the interdict then resting upon Genoa.

The reason for this interdict was the action of Genoa

in continuing to have dealings with the rebellious Sicilians. The city itself was not without suspicion of having had dealings with Peter of Aragon, but the prime cause of the interdict was the continuance of commercial relations which verged often, as in the case of Benedetto Zacharia, on active support of the revolution against Charles. The interdict was perhaps only partial, bearing on those who had directly or indirectly taken part in the matter, but it was inconvenient enough, no doubt, and one of the first acts of Nicholas was to remove it. Justinian speaks of Nicholas as a friend and admirer of the Genoese, but whether it was a friendship which produced this result, or the result was a proof of affection which gave rise to Justinian's statement, it came to pass at this time. Varagine and Rufinus of Alexandria the Minorite were the agents in the removal.

Whether it was this same affection for Genoa or was on his own merits, Varagine seems to have enjoyed the peculiar confidence of Nicholas from the very beginning to the very end of his pontificate. Entering his office in February, we find Nicholas already in May, entrusting Varagine with this mission and one of his very last acts was the approval of Varagine's election to the Archbishopric.

The appointment of Opizzone di Fieschi as *locum tenens* was by no means a satisfactory solution to the Genoese who, it is said, sent repeated embassies to the Pope asking to have an archbishop according to their own custom and privilege. This meant that the archbishop should be elected by the Canons of San Lorenzo, which privilege had been granted them by Pope Gregory on

the sole condition that they should always elect a Genoese. Nicholas let them enjoy the consequences of their discord for three years or more. Finally, it is said, on the authority of the "most exact writers", that on one occasion when a state embassy had been sent to the Pope on this and other business, the Pope asked its members which of the four candidates before nominated by the canons, they would prefer for archbishop. The ambassadors answered in the name of the Republic that the vote was unanimous for Jacobus de Varagine. The Pope therefore approved the choice.

According to Borselli, the appointment of Varagine was secured for him by Cardinal Latino. This rather confirms the other account and explains it, for Latino was all powerful at the court of Nicholas and was in a position to bring about by diplomacy what had been hard for the canons to settle among themselves. Varagine seems really to have been the choice of all elements; canons, people and rulers, but it needed some outside help to break the opposition of the two powerful rivals, each representing one of the most influential families of the city. Even with his family influence, it would have been invidious to have abandoned for him a Fieschi or a Spinola. A little diplomatic opportunity like this was doubtless welcomed by the canons themselves, when the clever cardinal, willing to do a good turn to Varagine in reward for his equally clever work in the matter of Munio, seized his opportunity to bring to bear the pressure of papal and state influence on the compromise candidate. No doubt the fact that Varagine was related to both the dominant families helped, but election under

the circumstances was a very great tribute to the personal qualities of the new Archbishop.

The choice appears to have been welcomed with peculiar cordiality by Nicholas who may well have felt that he had been excellently served by Varagine at some risk even of life and limb on the part of the latter and certainly at the cost of making vigorous enemies. It is not necessary to suppose that the point was to find a sphere for Varagine's activities outside the Order because it had become too hot for him within.

One fresh from the reading of the story of Munio in the usual historians is quite puzzled to find Latino, instead of being baffled and discredited, still the power behind the throne of Nicholas and his successor as he had been of their three predecessors. The same is true of Varagine. The truculent followers of Munio wished to put him in the well in 1290 but in 1291 it is obvious from the episode of Stephanardus that, in spite of the enemies that he had made, Varagine had not lost his leadership of the Lombard province any more than Latino had his leadership at the papal court. To become bishop or archbishop was a much prized honor and a fit reward for valued service. It is true that the rules of the Order discouraged the seeking of these honors, yet it is with the utmost pride that the historians of the rival Orders set forth the lists of those who from among their number have attained to dignities. Some of the bitterest taunts at Munio by Boniface are leveled at his ambition for the bishopric. For those who were most useful at the papal court, the cardinalate was the reward. For others it was the bishopric, or the archbishopric. It seems a

curious bit of poetic justice that Varagine who lost the Master-Generalship one year to Munio and also withdrew his candidacy for the archbishopric the next year in the interest of peace, should at last be chosen Archbishop while Munio failed even of his coveted bishopric.

Appointed Archbishop by Nicholas, he was summoned to Rome by letters from the Pope to receive the oil of consecration and the pallium from the Pope's own hand. Varagine arrived at Rome on Palm Sunday and found Nicholas mortally ill. On Good Friday Nicholas died without having been able to consecrate the new Archbishop. When the college of cardinals assembled during Easter week it was decided, according to Varagine's Chronicle, out of respect for the city of Genoa and its wish to have an archbishop promptly, to consecrate the new Archbishop at once. It was just as well that they did not wait for the election of a new Pope for it was more than two years before Celestine was chosen. Varagine meantime was consecrated by Cardinal Latino and received the pallium on the same day or the day following.

To have been consecrated by Latino was hardly less of an honor than to have been consecrated by the Pope himself, for three Popes had received their consecration from this same Latino, and the great Pope-maker proved his friendship for Varagine by carrying the affair to a conclusion. Varagine returned to Genoa, leaving to the cardinals the strenuous cares of the next two years, and was received by the people, as he says, "with reverence".

One of the first official acts of the new Archbishop was to call a Provincial Council. This was held in the

church of San Lorenzo and there were present five of the seven bishops belonging to this archbishopric and four mitred abbots. The main object of the Council was the "regulation of morals", especially of the clergy. "Morals", of course, meant the whole range of habits and practices. The new Archbishop had rather lately assisted at a thorough house-cleaning of his Order which had grown lax, especially in the practice of poverty, and he was zealous for new worlds to conquer. Varagine says in his *Chronicle*, that many useful rules were passed. Justiniani asserts that many copies of these decrees were extant in his day and apparently as late as 1797. They have since been wholly lost. The *Breviary* records that through this Council Varagine restored the discipline which had been broken down before his time. It is recorded also in the Dominican annals, so it is said, "that these decrees wrought in a very short time a complete transformation in the morals of the clergy". Sundry foreign bishops followed his example in applying these ordinances in their respective dioceses. Through this he became, it is said, a sort of mentor for all the bishops of northern Italy.

Varagine took advantage of the gathering of celebrities at this Council to try to set at rest certain doubts which had arisen about a matter which seemed to the monks of San Siro and to the canons of San Lorenzo to be of vital importance, albeit the affair concerned merely the bones of a bishop some centuries dead. San Siro, bishop of Genoa, died in 324, or after 523, and his body was buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles which then served as cathedral and afterwards became

the Benedictine monastery of San Siro. When the episcopal seat was transferred to San Lorenzo early in the 11th century by one Bishop Landolfo (1019-1034), the bones were, it was alleged, also transferred (or in 994 by a Bishop Giovanni, the Second). A century or more later Bishop Otto, and another century or less later still, Bishop Boniface examined these relics and found them to be correct. They were therefore revered there as genuine for yet another century when doubts were unexpectedly raised. One Ogerio, Abbot of San Siro, discovered in the year 1283, under the high altar of their church, three urns, the inscription on one of which alleged that it contained the bones of San Siro. The monks took the necessary steps and were soon in legal position to exhibit their relics as genuine. Here was a state of things—two sets of bones of the same saint, obviously a self-contradiction or else a repetition of the miracle of the loaves and fishes. This was a matter that would keenly interest Varagine, the specialist in hagiology, who had already occupied himself so actively in getting relics for his city from abroad. The controversy had raged now for ten years and Varagine undertook to settle whether the bones in the marble sarcophagus under the altar of San Lorenzo were really those of San Siro or if the originals had been left behind in the monastery of San Siro, as claimed. And so in the presence of the council, the podesta, the captain of the city, the abbot, the people and many Genoese nobles, as he says, “we had the sarcophagus opened and found within a wooden coffin, tightly sealed. Opening this we found a leaden lamina, a marble tablet and, in

a small urn, a parchment document written on both sides, saying that the bones of San Siro were in this coffin. We therefore had the coffin put upon the altar of San Lorenzo, and searching there with our own hands, found all the bones necessary for a human body". A few days after, on the festival of San Siro, Varagine placed these relics upon the great pulpit of the church of San Lorenzo and showed them publicly to the people. Here they were seen and prayerfully revered by all, with the utmost devotion. "We gave orders moreover, to have the head of San Siro put in a silver box and kept in the sacristy."

This it might be supposed, settled the matter, and so the Archbishop thought. He gave orders to the monks of San Siro to stop recognizing their relics at once. But somehow they were not convinced. For one hundred and fifty years a bitter controversy over the matter continued, settled in 1456 by submitting the matter to arbitration. The arbitors decided that both were right: the larger half of the divided relics were in fact at San Lorenzo, but a smaller portion had been left behind for the monks of San Siro. As a later biographer gravely remarked, all this trouble might have been avoided if anyone had stopped to think that it is not likely that Landolfo would have taken away from San Siro all its relics of the saint. It is quite as odd, however, if one stops to think now, that Varagine should have found "all the bones necessary to a human body" when he opened the sarcophagus, if part of them had been left behind at San Siro. Another biographer says that we must simply accept the fact that Varagine made a

mistake, being fallible like other human beings. He should have known better, however, for his convent had been strong, and was in the future to be reckoned strong, on the scientific side, and he was himself rather a specialist in the matter of relics and must therefore have made some particular study of human anatomy. The incident is interesting both as illuminating one phase of the mental and administrative activities of Varagine and his environment and as pointing forward to the time when his own relics should be the object of a like scrutiny.

The elaborate ceremonial procedure was of course to prevent fraud. Its importance can only be realized by remembering the great value attached to such relics and the desire of churches and monasteries to excel one another in possessing them. This competition led over-zealous or gainfully disposed persons some times to bury relics with forged identification tablets in order to have them dug up again in the presence of unimpeachable witnesses, as Egyptian antiquities are now dug up in the presence of purchasing tourists.

CHAPTER V

Peacemaking

THE year 1295 was a year of peacemaking for Varagine. The record of his mature life had been sprinkled with efforts to preserve the public peace. The most notable of these hitherto had been the truce of Cremona, August 22, 1270, between Genoa, Venice and Pisa, at which he was present as witness. More recently on the 3rd of April, 1288, he had helped to negotiate the peace between Genoa and Pisa. In December, 1292, he had assisted at a truce treaty at Nice at which he acted as arbitrator between Asti and Monferrato. This year, 1295, witnessed two peacemakings, one between the parties in Genoa and the other between Genoa and Venice.

In the year 1293, the Lombard truce between Venice and Genoa had been broken by the Venetians. The Genoese Council sent two Dominican friars to ask Venice to send ambassadors to discuss the matter. They met at Cremona and Varagine was apparently one of the ambassadors, thus appearing for the second time at Cremona at a peace conference between Venice and Genoa. The results were unsatisfactory proposals by Venice. The grand council met two days after Christmas, 1293. The ambassadors presented the case and

discussed the matter. This took only four days but the Venetians had meantime already begun hostilities. They captured three galleys richly loaded and war began in earnest. Genoa had some notable successes in 1294 but was so deeply engaged in civil war that she could not put forth her best efforts. This gave the Archbishop an opportunity of which he made prompt and effective use. In January, 1295, he brought about a treaty of peace between the factions. This was the crowning event of his life, and it is this event in his life which is chiefly celebrated in art, in biography, in popular tradition and in the ceremonies of the church.

For sixty years, as Varagine says in his Chronicle, the dissensions between the Mascarati or Ghibellines on the one hand and the Rampini or Guelfs on the other had been going on. "But by the gracious favor of our Saviour," he says, "at this time all were brought back to peace and concord so that they became one society, one brotherhood and one body. So great was the rejoicing on this account that the whole city was full of jubilation, dancing and profound joy". "We in public parliament where peace was initiated, clothed in our pontifical robes, set forth the word of God, and with our clergy sang aloud the *Te Deum*. And there were with us four mitred bishops and abbots. And after we had eaten, clothed in our pontifical garments and seated upon a palfrey covered with *sin*don, we rode glad and rejoicing, through our whole city, followed by all the soldiery, showering benedictions on all and giving thanks unto God."

Meantime, however, the war with Venice was going on vigorously. The Genoese having made peace among themselves took hold of the war in earnest, building ships, preparing arms and machines for war. They did not, Varagine says, make any alliances and refused outside aid. They did not hire mercenary soldiers or sailors. This was a thrust at the Venetians who had been hiring soldiers from Treviso, Padua, Ferrara, Cremona and all over. Oberto Doria was made admiral, obviously the first fruit of the new peace. He was given plenary power in war matters.

At this point the Pope took a hand. The Holy See had been vacant for two years but the year 1294 saw two Popes; first the election and resignation of Celestine V—"the grand refusal", then the election of Boniface VIII. Boniface was as vigorous in public affairs as in the case of Munio he had proved to be in church matters. In March he sent to Genoa demanding a truce until the feast of St. John the Baptist, on pain of excommunication. Both parties then sent peace ambassadors to the Pope with full powers. Among those from Genoa was Varagine. The Archbishop of Venice being already at Rome on other business, served as one of the Venetian delegates. The Venetians demanded that the truce should be extended to the first of October. The negotiations were fruitless and the ambassadors returned in July.

Meantime a curious and amusing incident took place at Genoa. An individual who called himself Eustacio Savino, Cardinal of *le Santi Quattro Coronati*, "by the grace of God and of the Apostolic See, Archbishop of

Genoa", undertook to impersonate Varagine. In some way he got possession of official stamped paper and executed a document dated from the Archiepiscopal palace of Genoa, April 21, 1295, and in the name of the Archbishop. This was directed to the Bishop of Luni and ordered him to confer a certain benefice on Bertolotto da Lavagna, a clergyman and friend of the Cardinal. The incident has given rise to all sorts of conjecture, including an imaginary short deposition of Varagine by Pope Boniface and his reinstatement. Some have even connected this up with the alleged accusation of Ghibilism and suspension by Boniface which belongs probably to Varagine's successor and was apocryphal at that. The affair seems, however, to have been a plain case of confidence game and its discussion brought out various similar incidents. There was, for example, an impostor who posed for some time as nephew of Gregory VIII, in this very neighborhood, living comfortably on others until he was found out and suddenly disappeared.

On the return of the ambassadors in July the Genoese hastened their preparations for a peace by victory and within a month they had gathered 200 galleys which they weeded down to 165, none of which had less than 200 armed soldiers, while many had 250, 300 and even 350 men. In all they gathered more than 45,000 sea-fighting men, of whom it is incidentally said, more than 8,000 were uniformed in gold and silk. Altogether it seems to have been a wonderful example of what a powerful and wealthy city could do when internal dissensions were laid aside and all devoted all their energies to a common patriotic end of preparedness.

One of the older historians adds a striking bit to the picture which is so much in keeping with our Archbishop's character that it might easily be true. He represents the Archbishop himself as actively engaged in directing the naval preparation and among other things in weeding the fighting force from 45,000 combatants to 35,000. This is not unlikely. The archbishops in those days had much to say in public affairs and some of them at least were very able fighters. Varagine, moreover, came of a sea-fighting family and his intimate interest in all naval operations is evident over and over again in his Chronicle. The picture, therefore of the Archbishop at this time putting into the naval preparations all that unquenchable zeal which he put on every proposition with which he had to do, is a plausible one and it is natural enough to associate with this what he says about the policy of "our citizens nowadays" not to put Lombards "or any other foreigners", on their galleys and about the policy of weeding the fighting force.

The Venetians having boasted that they would go in after the Genoese in their own port, the latter set sail to meet them half way, but could not find them at all, and after a search returned home where they were, as Varagine says, "gloriously received by all the people and by us, preceded by the Vexilla, with immense joy and triumph." There was some reason why their joy should be unalloyed, since they had no war casualties, but the reason for a feeling of triumph is not so obvious.

Unfortunately the joy and triumph was to be short-lived both as to the local peace between the parties and

the triumph over Venice. As Varagine puts it, "since in this world nothing is pure good, pure good being only in Heaven, as unalloyed evil is only in Hell, and mixed good and evil the rule in this world, therefore, alas, our harp was turned to mourning and our organ to the voice of them that weep. For that same year, in the month of December, the fifth day namely, after Christmas, that Envier of Peace and Enemy of human concord, while our citizens were rejoicing in the above mentioned peace, drove them to such discord and tribulation that they went through all the streets and squares of the city, fighting, and kept up the fights for days at the time. Slaughter and burning and pillage followed and this state of anarchy continued until February seventh. The blind fury of the mob was unrestrained and they dared even set fire to the cathedral church, so that its roof was wholly burned off".

In this year, 1296, hostilities were again resumed with Venice and both suffered damage without profit. Varagine did not live to see the end of this war. He did, however, live to see the cathedral rebuilt and a certain restoration of peace among his fellow citizens for both matters were taken up immediately after the close of hostilities in February, 1296, and carried rapidly forward.

CHAPTER VI

Count of San Remo and Ceriana.

WHEN Varagine became Archbishop of Genoa, he became, at the same time and by the same token, Count and Lord of San Romolo (now San Remo) and Ceriana. As count, he became by law entitled to sundry properties, rights, privileges, pomps and honors and to a very substantial income. Among other things these rights and properties included at least two castles or palaces, one quite modern, in one of the most picturesque and charming places on earth, with right to free entertainment for himself and retinue when he visited it and right to set aside most of the laws in favor of his own will while he was there—provided he did not overstay his legal welcome. Beside this he had the right to one-half the sea fishing, all the fresh water fishing, and one-half the proceeds from fines and from the sale of sequestered goods.

The only drawback about the matter was that the rights could not be exercised nor the properties, pomps, and income enjoyed, and the story of the problem, and the way in which Varagine solved it, is the story of the progress of political liberty on the Riviera in those days.

From time immemorial the bishops of Genoa had owned most of the land of, and exercised spiritual au-

thority over these places, subject to the secular overlordship of the counts of Ventimiglia. There may have been a period when this task was easy, but if so, this golden age was before documentary times.

The first records are of the overwhelming disaster of Saracen occupation. For 250 years the coast was harried repeatedly and occupied by the Moslems, this particular region suffering perhaps worse than any other. In 972 it was redeemed by William of Provence. When at this time the bishops again took up their responsibilities they found it depopulated and devastated and set about the work of reconstruction. In order to induce settlers they, as appears from a document of 979, divided up one-half of the land on a perpetual lease system, then coming rapidly into vogue, and distributed the rest in feud, creating thus two classes of semi-free landholders.

Farther than this, they offered very easy rental terms during the reconstruction period. The normal rent was one-half the crop. Instead of this they were to pay on grain from one-third to one-seventh only, and on figs, grapes and olives, in lieu of all other rent or taxes, simply a poll tax of one chicken annually for every male inhabitant over ten years of age.

This region without winter, abounding in "palms and olives, oranges, lemons, mandarins, almonds", abounding also in fresh and salt water fish, needed only half a chance to recuperate and it was not long before the land which yielded no income the first year after reconstruction, became highly productive to the workers, the lessees and at times even to the owners.

All this was in the beginning, and for sixty odd years, subject to the overlordship of the Counts of Ventimiglia. Whether it had ever profited them very much may be doubted, but at the time of reconstruction they in fact owned various properties as well as sundry rights and privileges. They did not seem to have taken either duties or rights very seriously, and in 1038, at the instigation of Conrad the Emperor, Conrad, Count of Ventimiglia, transferred to Conrad, Bishop of Genoa, the houses, castles, churches, chapels, fisheries which he owned in San Romolo and Ceriana, together with all his rights and privileges. He gave deed and to make assurance doubly sure, in those days of transition from Lombard to Roman law, he took *launechilt* in the form of a garment.

Whether this transfer to the bishops was more an act of piety on the part of the count, as some say, or an act of authority on the part of the Emperor, it was doubtless aided by the fact that rights were hard to exercise. Such rights were hard enough to maintain in those days under the most favorable circumstances, and rapidly becoming harder. Even for one overlord with undivided authority, resident, firm-fisted and unscrupulous, the task was none too easy. Here, where the inhabitants were expected to serve two masters, both absentee, and unable or unwilling to practice terrorism, the task was hard and the end hopeless. All along the Riviera men were already beginning to think that even one master was one too many and that they preferred to rule themselves.

The trouble was of course at bottom economic. The owners' rights were double. The right to income,

service, honors, privileges and the right to enjoy these, *i. e.*, authority to collect or exact them. The struggle of the tenants was correspondingly double. On the one hand refusal to pay rent, taxes, service and honors and the other hand self-organization, partly to resist the owners, partly to perform the duties neglected by their lords—protection against outward aggression and local improvements. As in all proletarian movements the right to vested rights and the right to resist extortion or unright, the right to exact lawful rights and the right to organize to resist wrong, were acting and re-acting on one another. On the one hand the feudal lord and on the other the workers had begun the often repeated struggle which always must needs end in democracy.

As always, too, the occasion of progress lay in the exactions or the neglects of autocracy. The right to money from service or authority, then as always, carried counter-rights to protection and community improvement. When the rulers exacted more than due, or neglected to perform their duties, the tenants had perforce to organize to protect and help themselves and, when possible, resist exaction. Both these tasks called for self-organization and the evolution of the self-governing "company", with its statutes, consuls, and "notables", inexorably followed. The company did not arise from any theoretical love of liberty or self-government, but was a union for the very practical purpose of self-protection against unlawful aggression, whether against vulgar robbery or negligent and oppressive rulers.

In 1038, this movement, which resulted finally in the transfer of ownership of feudal rights from the great

lords to the commons, was in its early infancy, and it was not destined to reach its end at San Remo for three hundred years, long after many other communities of the Western Riviera had bought their freedom from the lords, generally at a bargain, after having first made the value of the rights nominal through making them uncollectable.

Nevertheless the process was already well begun in both its aspects—resisting taxes of every sort and organization for self-government. The elementary method of passive resistance by withholding rents, service and honors due, by protests, litigation and demonstration were in full operation and were soon followed by the method of purchase. On the other hand it appears, from certain judicial decrees rendered at this time, that even bishops and their vicars could be extortionists and oppressive. It may be assumed that under bishops, who must have ruled with some conscience, extortion was at a minimum. This would doubtless have been true of resident bishops but with absenteeism at a maximum, it opened the door to extortion by agents. When owners are absent, not only is oppression and neglect by agents more easy and common, but some simple method of collection is more and more necessary for the owner. This results in collective bargaining. It came to pass, therefore, that in such a community as San Remo the owners were only too glad to use the “company” as an instrument through which to reach collective terms for agreement and to throw on the company the burden of enforcing them. The evolution of the company was therefore rapid.

It may be doubted whether the bishops ever had had complete success in collecting their dues. Even during the first year of reconstruction, when their dues were only one-ninth of the grain and the poll tax, they were unable to collect and almost gave up the enterprise in despair. This was partly on account of economic misfortunes, but even when things improved in the following years, trouble continued. The chances are that they intensified at the end of ten years when they tried to collect the dues previously remitted. Collecting dues after long remission is never easy. A little freedom is a dangerous thing, especially in individual land management. Land rent and taxes have always been a stumbling block to the land worker, who has always to be trained to see why the man who works should not receive the whole fruit of his labor.

Whatever the case may have been in the earlier years, however, in 1110, when documentary light was turned on again, it appears that, at that time and for a long while previously, so far from paying half their products, the holders of certain leases or feuds, some at least, were not even paying the one-ninth of the grain of the first year or the one-fourteenth of another agreement, but plain nothing at all, whether of "grain, wine, citron fruits, olives, apples or figs".

Moreover the communist organization was already well advanced and the debtors were abbetted and protected by the consuls of the "company". These were haled to court in the matter, first to Ventimiglia, then to Genoa. They lost their case. The decree of court required that the tenant should pay, "under penalty of

one hundred lire of the new money" one-eighth of the wine, and one-fourth of the citron fruits, figs, olives, standing oats, etc. This gave the bishops new legal rights but not income. The renters kept up the struggle for fourteen years. Then in the presence of all the inhabitants of San Remo and many from Genoa and Ventimiglia, "under a nut tree in an orchard near the church of St. John," a court of arbitration, consisting of two arbitrators and a judge, denied the claim of the church of San Siro for three-fourths of one-half of all products, but granted one-seventh of one-half as to wine, citron fruits, figs, apples and standing crops, except cabbages, leeks, flax and hemp, one-fourth and of this one-fourth it was decreed that three-fourths should belong to the canons of San Siro and one-fourth to the Archbishop—a complexity of fraction typical of the times and circumstances.

This seems really to have settled things for a while. The company appears on the scene already organized, and only a few years later as thoroughly organized, with its own by-laws and customs which the overlords had to reckon with as modifying their rights. This company soon began to purchase rights from the bishops—the beginning of the end. Meantime, however, the bishop-counts found that dealing with this organized responsible company was the best means of enforcing and enjoying their rights, or some of them, for a season. Another fifty years, however, (1164), finds the whole community in open rebellion, legally pronounced "rebellious and contumacious". They refused to pay rent or even to pay court on the annual visit of the Archbishop. Law courts

again gave judgment against them but they laughed at the judgments. By 1197 the company was making treaties without even mentioning their sovereign Archbishop. Affairs reached such a pass that for many years the sovereign lords of the place did not dare to show their faces in it.

Shortly after this time, however, circumstances gave to the followers of the bishop, again the upper hand and the Archbishop Otto, invited to San Remo in 1216, went so far as to hold court at Ceriana but he ventured no nearer. From time to time after this the bishops made spasmodic efforts to improve income and revive authority but it was a losing fight.

About the time of Varagine's birth in 1228 the archbishops made one of their periodic efforts to revive their authority, and the men of San Remo and Ceriana to revive the struggle for independence. A dozen years later and the then Archbishop took his rights and responsibilities quite seriously. He built a great castle, held court, held a review and registration of all those who were subject to his feudal authority, and tried valiantly to collect what was due him under his rights. This, like all such registrations, whether for military conscription, or taxes, was highly unpopular as King David once found. By constant effort, during the twenty years of his archbishopric, he managed to reduce his authority with the men of San Remo well towards zero and his revenues correspondingly, so that his successor spent much on the place and got little out of it. Matters grew more and more critical and while Varagine's predecessor, Oppizzone Fieschi, was acting arch-

bishop, matters came practically to open revolt, so that when Varagine became count in 1292, the situation was such that the Lord of San Romolo and Ceriana had not dared to show his face there for some years. Varagine no doubt tried conciliation. He may even have put in an appearance there but the chances are that he was too wise to try this.

In any event the flouting kept on. The last straw seems to have been the offering at public sale by his vassals, in 1294, of sundry taxes on bread and wine, hemp and cheese, fish, hides and pasturage among other things, which same taxes would seem to have belonged to the archbishop-count.

Varagine was too practical a man to hold on to a form after the substance had departed, and he was too shrewd a business man not to make hay while the sun still shone. He promptly called a meeting of the Cathedral Chapter to discuss how to make the most out of this bad situation, and together they petitioned Pope Boniface for permission to sell the rights. The Pope appointed the bishops of Noli and Albenga to look into the matter. They reported that the distance from Genoa being such as to make it hard to enforce authority, and in view of the fact that the inhabitants had destroyed the county castle and driven away the emissaries of the archbishop, and taking into account also the fact that, some six or seven years before, they had openly revolted against Oppizzone di Fieschi and considering also that from the proceeds of the sale, property might be purchased of a greater and safer income, they recommended a favorable action on the request for permission to alienate the two feuds.

The report was dated June 12th, 1296, and on the 14th permission was given for the sale. On January 8th, therefore, Varagine sold to Oberto Doria and Giorgio di Mari the two castles of San Romolo and Ceriana, with all their belongings, for the sum of 13,000 lire of Genoa, which is to say, in terms of modern money, the substantial amount of \$125,000 or 2,500,000 paper lire of today.

The quondam vassals who had been fighting the archbishops for so long, welcomed the change. On the 22nd of February, 1297, the procurator of the archbishop with all legal formalities, at a general parliament of the inhabitants, gathered in the church of San Siro, handed over to the new lords the authority over all the property, palaces, rights and jurisdictions belonging to the archbishops, gave as a sign of possession branches of trees, led them into the palace and presented the keys. The rule of the archbishops was ended.

Most of those present at this ceremony lived to rue the day when their overlordship passed from a famous archbishop to a famous warrior. It was King Stork after King Log. Doria and his army were able to make real, rights which were to archbishops only shadows. If this involved the cutting off of noses or heads, they did it, not in great profusion perhaps, as such things went in those days and places, but enough to make the men of San Romolo even more glad when the Dorias sold out to Genoa, than they had been when the Archbishop of Genoa sold out to the Dorias.

CHAPTER VII

Last Years

THE public records of Genoa in 1297, especially in the early months, are dotted with the name of the Archbishop, making sales, leases, contracts, some directly connected with the payments for San Remo or indirectly concerned it would seem, with the investment of money received from the sale. These payments had not been all cash, but largely real estate.

Some pious biographers relate at length, with eulogistic detail, that Varagine devoted the proceeds to the poor for famine relief, the founding of hospitals, the establishment of a dole at San Domenico, or for the dowry of marriageable, but without dowry unmarried, poor maidens. These things he may have done and some of them he did do, but not with the proceeds of San Remo, for the Pope had expressly directed putting these into more remunerative investment.

The church vouches for the matter of hospitals, and bears witness that, "frugal and sparing on himself, he distributed even his episcopal revenues for the poor, and particularly in the time of great famine." This is wholly in character. An experienced administrator, for thirty years, by reason of his office, made trustee of countless special trusts, and law trained, he would be

on his guard against the misapplication of trust funds and in no danger of confusing principal and income accounts. On the other hand, nothing is more in keeping than that he should have spent most of his own patrimony for the poor, as some suggest and through the agency of his Order, or that he should have starved himself and spent the bulk of his ecclesiastical revenues on them rather than on himself. He was, it is said, a "great faster", and one-third of his treatise in defense of the Order is defending the right to fast. Frugality was a principle and became a habit. His lifelong and unremitting effort to feed the minds of the common people, could not have failed to develop a like interest in their physical and social welfare. Indeed he could not have become able to interest their minds unless through a thorough sympathy with and knowledge of their social circumstances. It may well be believed, therefore, and there are enough documents to encourage the belief, that the great preacher of charity justified his teaching by works of practical philanthropy which were all that his most sentimental admirers claim and no doubt his practised administrative genius would have chosen organized relief methods as indicated.

Another echo of San Remo is found in the fact that the Archbishop had incurred a rather large debt to that same Giorgio de'Mari who with Oberto Doria purchased the county. The heavy expenses connected with war and famine and the rebuilding of the cathedral, with the reduction of ecclesiastical revenues on account of the war, must have drawn heavily on income and may easily have been a strong motive in selling San Remo in order

to better the fixed revenue. In any event the borrowing is significant of the financial difficulties of his administration.

Another document executed by Varagine, April 8th, 1297, throws an interesting light on the matter of the reduction of income through war circumstances. It is an agreement to pay, in the matter of the living of the chapel of Saint Michael of Pera, near Constantinople, "thirty Genoese pounds annually during the continuance of the war between Venice and Genoa and fifty pounds annually after peace has been made between them."

This document also gives a sidelight on another of the dignities and responsibilities which fell to Varagine as Archbishop, since it shows his episcopal responsibility extending to the church of the Genoese settlements on the Black Sea. It appears from another document earlier in this year (January 22nd), that this chapel had been wholly destroyed, but was then about to be rebuilt. He, therefore, appointed Aldobrando de Sarzana as "chaplain or vicar" for ten years. It is he who executes the former document and speaks of the chapel as rebuilt or building.

Through the early months of 1298 the documents concerned with the Archbishop continue to be numerous and contain many suggestive names and transactions which will doubtless reward study, *e. g.* Magister John (Balbus?) of Genoa more than once, Tedisius (Cammilla) master of the schools and Canon, Master Oberto the Chirugian, Bertholino de Flisco, a Fazio, and others. In particular, it is interesting to find his kindred often appearing here—Fredericus de Varagine and espe-

cially and often Lanzarotus de Varagine, his nephew and heir and a canon of the cathedral. The fact that Lanzarotus was a canon of the cathedral suggests that his uncle was not one of those who cherished any grudge against the Popes who practised nepotism.

Two documents executed in the Archiepiscopal palace on July 13th, and one executed on the 14th, in the chapel of the Preacher Friars, foreshadowed the rapidly approaching end. Varagine died July 14th, or the next day, and without regret. "I am old," he had said sometime before, "and breathless with longing for the Celestial country."

CHAPTER VIII

The Blessed James, the Peacemaker

NO sooner had the remains of Varagine been placed in the choir of San Domenico, than a spontaneous popular veneration for him as promoter of peace sprang up, both at Genoa and at Varazze. This has continued unbrokenly to the present day. The church calls him a minister of reconciliation. He is venerated sometimes as promoter of public peace, sometimes of inward peace, sometimes of peace with God, but most often and interestingly as promoter of family peace.

It was in 1625, at Varazze, that by public vote a public ceremony was held in his honor with view to warding off a much-feared war with the Duke of Savoy, and it was then also voted to honor him annually on the 27th of April. Again the Dominican year book speaks of "a grand inward peace". The second colloquy for the ceremony on the translation of his relics in 1885, used also at Varazze, begs him to "obtain from God our reconciliation with Him." Most characteristic and perhaps most to his glory, however, is the fact that he is locally revered by the common people as peculiarly the reconciler in private or domestic discord.

The veneration began from the very beginning, both at Genoa and at Varazze, but its organized and ap-

proved form naturally developed around his relics. Buried at first in the choir of San Domenico on the left of the high altar, in 1582, on the occasion of certain changes in the altar, his remains were ordered removed. The order seems not to have been carried out until 1614 when they were transferred, somewhat diminished through a zeal for relics on the part of the faithful, first to the sacristy and then back beside the new high altar, in a chest of stone encased in wood. Here they remained until 1713 when the altar was rebuilt and with much ceremony the bones were verified, transferred to another chest and sealed with an official seal. Though verified they could not have been found complete as he found those of San Siro, for some of them had been removed and others were apparently imbedded in the image on the top of the sarcophagus. On the destruction of San Domenico in 1798, the friars took the relics to Santa Maria di Castella, their new convent, and placed them under the altar of the chapel of St. Paul. In 1885 they were again removed with very great ceremony, recalling the similar ceremony on the translation of the relics of San Siro, which Varagine conducted. They found a resting place then, in the more conspicuous chapel of the same church where they now lie.

Varagine's beatification was one of those which are certified to on the ground of "veneration from time immemorial". It sprang up spontaneously. The decree of Urban VII. in 1633, as to the recognition of Saints, operated automatically to confirm this, and near the end of the 18th century steps were taken to make this recognition formal. From 1788 to 1798 elaborate and pains-

taking evidence was gathered as to his formal and continuous veneration, miracles, writings, the authentication of his remains, etc. On this basis Pius VIII (May 11, and Sept. 7, 1816, and June 11, 1817), formally confirmed the beatification though not granting quite the fullest limits of the request of the petitioner. It was granted as to Genoa and Varazze (Savona) and was extended then or later to the Dominican Order throughout the world. It included the privilege of celebrating office and mass in his honor "with the double rite." Also the privilege of private recognition and translation in procession, from place to place within the church, of his relics.

A grand celebration in honor of this confirmation was held from the 17th to the 19th of August, 1817, with orations many and procession and the dedication of the "fourth altar of the right nave" in the Cathedral of San Lorenzo.

Whatever one's attitude towards the recognition of sainthood may be, one cannot fail to be deeply stirred to think that a man should be so well remembered and his example potent, for six hundred years and more after his death, on account of his special goodness. The path of lasting fame surely does not lie only through fields of blood.

The outstanding personal qualities for which the Blessed Jacopo has been most esteemed all this time are, perhaps, modesty, self-denial and invincible enthusiasm for his task. The feature of his practical task itself, which has endured and which came to stand out with supreme distinction,

has been his work as peacemaker. One can hardly say that this bulked large in quantity or in conscious domination of other tasks, but it has been singled out as his supreme personal distinction.

It is an interesting thing that the reason for which the people spontaneously and during six hundred years have declared him Blessed, and for which the church has technically named him "Blessed", is one of those fundamental grounds on which Jesus Christ in the Sermon on the Mount declared men blessed, "Blessed are the peacemakers."

For many years a portrait painting of the famous peace between the factions at Genoa hung in the Cathedral at Genoa, as a similar one hangs in the church of Varazze. It represents a scene of throwing away of swords and of general reconciliation. It was a standing and vivid perpetual sermon illustrated and pointed by a personality. It cannot have failed to make the impression of a sermon millions of times, placed where it was in one of the aisles, not very far from one of the entrance doors. It was removed some years ago for repairs long unmade, but recently undertaken under the direction of an Archbishop who himself has an enviable record as a fighter for peace through those weapons approved by the founder of his religion—like Varagine a Dominican and a fighter with fair weapons—not a pacifist, but a notable peacemaker.

Both at Genoa and at Varazze a form of preparation for the ceremonial veneration has been used which contains three colloquies and a prayer. The colloquies

speak of him as "chosen in a special sense to be a reconciler of his people," and prays to have that peace kept among us perpetually. The prayer is, "God, who didst make the Blessed James, confessor and pontiff, a distinguished exemplar of truth and conciliator of peace, grant that through his intercession, we may love peace and truth and come to Thee who art the supreme peace and truth, through Christ our Lord."

The "little Dominican year," compiled for popular use, under the date of the Blessed Jacopo, has this sole prayer, "Blessed Pontiff, take from the spirit of our time its egotism, its spirit of revolt, its love of pleasures, and let us have peace."

Nothing could be more fit today than these two prayers and no one better suited to be patron, say of a league of nations to promote permanent peace, in these days of national egotism, revolt and pleasure-seeking. The Blessed Jacopo seems to be the only man in the history of the church, who has been beatified expressly as peacemaker and officially revered as "minister of reconciliation."

MATERIALS FOR
A LIFE OF JOCOPO DA VARAGINE

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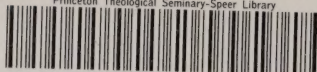
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